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THE
REFORMATION
AND
ANTI-REFORMATION
IN
BOHEMIA.

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IN
BOHEMIA.

From the German.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE ANTI-REFORMATION IN BOHEMIA.

CHAPTER I.

PREPARATION FOR AN ANTI-REFORMATION AND THE
SUPPRESSION OF PROTESTANTISM—FIRST ASSAULTS
ON THE PROTESTANTS AFTER FERDINAND'S VIC-
TORY—SEIZURE OF THEIR CHURCHES.

THE punishments which had been inflicted upon the Protestants in Bohemia, after their subjugation by Ferdinand, were certainly not altogether on account of their religion; much was caused by political animosity, and more by the hatred of the Romanists to that spirit of patriotism and zeal for the constitution of the kingdom which the Protestants had so decidedly exhibited. The determination, however, of the Emperor and King, Ferdinand II. was now to bring back the whole of Bohemia to the faith of Rome.

We will not dispute his motives while engaged in accomplishing this work. Experience seems to have taught him, that all the mischief had arisen from disagreement in matters of faith. His priest-ridden mind was probably influenced by such suggestions as the following:—In the fifteenth century, at the time of John Hus all the disturbance, hatred,

bloodshed and ruin, together with the overthrow of the flourishing state of the University of Prague, arose from heretical doctrine ; at present, a deviation from the Papal arrangements has brought about the mischiefs of the illegal election of a new King, the bloodshed upon the White-Hill, all the horrors of war, and those scenes of death which took place on the day of execution. Bohemia has lost many of her brave inhabitants, and the mutual love of king and subject is entirely broken. Nothing will certainly produce an improvement until the Papal faith shall be universal, obedience to the ancient church restored, and all heresy and innovation entirely eradicated. This misery having been produced by the unhappy disagreement in faith, the only remedy for restoring order, peace, and happiness, is uniformity. As sovereign, he must declare his unqualified will, and determined resolution, that no subject shall remain in the country who does not agree with him in faith. All toleration must cease, and every thing Protestant be extirpated ; Bohemia may indeed thereby receive many a wound, and have many an unwelcome result to endure for the present ; but it requires to be acted upon with decision, and the benefit of severe measures for future generations must be kept in view. Did it happen that at times Ferdinand's feelings revolted at cruelty, or that he found it difficult to withstand, and close his sympathies against affecting entreaties and intercessions, then the vow of his youth, and the persuasions of his confessor, steeled his heart. Of such inward struggles of his mind the author lately had a lively illustration, when he had in his hand the image of the crucified, before which that Prince had

been in the habit of performing his daily devotions.* What also strengthened him in his desire to exterminate the Protestants was, doubtless, the false impression he had of their ways and desires,—which many inhabitants of Popish countries retain to this day.

It is well known that the Emperor Charles V. was surprised to see at Wittemberg a large crucifix over the altar: he did not expect that it would be venerated there; but he became thoughtful, and said to one of his attendants, “Lutheranism has been quite differently represented from what I now find it to be.” In those days of division, when a Romish priest held out a crucifix to be worshipped, and kissed by Christians, especially those of the Reformed confession, and they refused it on account of their very great aversion to all kind of images in religion, it was invariably considered as a token of their refusal to worship Christ himself. Such misrepresentations were often the cause of unjust persecutions, and needless animosities during the Anti-reformation. If sometimes remonstrances and intercessions were presented to Ferdinand in favour of Protestants, the Jesuits, whose influence over him was unbounded, never failed to rekindle his hatred. Fulfilling the prophetic announcement of the apostle Paul, 2 Thessalonians ii. 1—12, under strong delusion that they should believe a lie, they believed that it was an *act of kindness* to retrieve those who had been misled, were it even by constraint of spirit; and they hoped that supernatural power (in agree-

* This picture is now in the collection of the United Brethren, at Herrnhut. It was presented by the Empress Maria Theresa, with remarks in her own handwriting, to the Baron von Watteville, from whom his brother, at Herrnhut, inherited it.

ment with their own) would by degrees convert constraint into conviction, or that it would at all events habituate the coming generation to their faith. Thus they allowed themselves to do evil that good might come; nor did they conceal from one another the abominations and horrors of their devices and preparations for conversion and persecution, but quieted their conscience by the anticipation of the spiritual and eternal salvation which should flow from it, and even justified themselves with the thought that God himself cares for the fruitfulness of the land, and the health of its inhabitants by storm and thunder. It was even dangerous to shew a friendly disposition towards a heretic; for it raised a suspicion of hostile intentions against the orthodox church. No one dared to be neutral.

The restoration of the ancient faith, and reintroduction of the Popish ceremonies, which succeeded by degrees in Bohemia, during those times of persecution, the Romanist party designated by the name of *Reformation*. To find for the first time this word in such a sense naturally seems strange to those who are in the habit of taking it in the acceptation it has with us; nevertheless, it cannot be denied, that the Romanists were justified in using the expression, for their reformation was literally a remodelling into the previous form. As they do not acknowledge the work of the Saxon and Swiss Reformers to have been a restoration of the ancient pure Christianity, but on the contrary, find great fault with it, they do not call it a reformation, but a *deformation* of the church. Thus, for instance, when the chaplain of Frederic of the Palatinate removed the altars and Popish relics from the cathedral of Prague, they say he deformed the church; and call the restoration

to its former condition a Reformation. In like manner, the oppression of the Protestants in France was called "a work of reformation." But the Protestants, on their part, said that a house of God becomes deformed by objects of superstition; and called the new papisticising a deformation. Both parties have a right to use the word reformation according to their different views. In the present work, we call what the Romanists did in Bohemia, in the 17th century, against the Reformation in the times of Luther, Calvin, and Huss, an *anti-reformation*.

They expected, indeed, to find more facility in restoring Popery, and destroying Protestantism, for they did not imagine that the Protestants,—the Bohemian Brethren, Hussitish Utraquists, Lutherans, and Calvinists,—would rather leave their country than become unfaithful to their well established convictions. It is true that many of them had not that stability; and in various places the work of Romanizing met with little difficulty; that is to say, where Protestantism had not taken firm root, where there was not courage enough to sacrifice temporal advantages, and especially where there were eloquent and clever converters. Those were the most *steadfast* (which Romanists call most *obstinate*) families, in the midst of whom the Bible-knowledge of Huss, and the Scriptural celebration of the Holy Supper (utraquism) had always been cherished. It must also be remembered, that many became Romanists of necessity, and in appearance only; nevertheless, the Papal church rejoiced in the prospect of familiarizing their children, and children's children, to her superstitious practices. They commenced the so-called conversion by severe measures. The Emperor himself had no wish that

it should terminate in Bohemia as it had done in Spain, France, the Netherlands, in Austria (1527), or in Bavaria. Before however they introduced systematical severity, and cruel treatment, they acted leniently and with friendly representations. The Jesuits always sought, in their work of conversion, to recommend themselves first by complaisant courteousness. Experience had taught them that killing only had led to martyrdom. Wherefore, they chose milder measures, as separation of husband and wife, children and parents, disfranchisement, deprivation of the necessities of life; they prohibited bread to be sold to Protestants, refused to admit them to corporations and offices, denied them burial, &c.

Holyk relates: "At times great numbers of monks came to the country, who were sent by their superiors to convert and confirm the people, whom they did not immediately condemn, but used flatteries and caresses, certifying and confirming the truth of their belief by many oaths; promising also constant peace, good success and rich blessings from God in their occupations. They gave them besides, sure hopes of the benevolence of the Emperor and their superiors, and also of the reduction of their expenses and burdens. The monks themselves, though otherwise not very liberal, promised to assist them with money and corn in those difficult and expensive times, if they would but embrace their religion. By that cunning craftiness many were deceived." The 48th chapter of the Book of Persecutions, shews likewise what they expected to accomplish by fair words. "Pious hearts were pained, unstable ones fainted, while the converters, as their speaking and acting proved, promised to themselves certain success, but to us complete and inevitable

destruction. Those who were observed to be more firm, and decided upon emigration, were ridiculed as fools. 'How,' they would say, 'can you promise yourselves security anywhere?—that can only be obtained where there is submission to the Pope and the Emperor. Where will you go, ye fools? How do you mean to escape the reach of the Emperor? What you now see here you shall soon see in all other parts. Within a few years the whole world will return to the Catholic faith. Why will you rather await that abroad, with trembling, and loss of your property, than submit yourselves at home? One's native soil is very sweet. You will not be able to endure the longing to see it again; you will die of grief, or return with shame. And then it will be very uncertain whether the Emperor's door of mercy will be open for you as it is now?' They declared also, in the name of the Emperor, both publicly from the pulpits, and in conversations at home, that if there were anything erroneous or dangerous in the Popish faith, they would take it entirely upon themselves, being willing to answer it before God, and so secure them against all danger and fear. By these and the like expressions, at one time by flattering, and at another by threatening words, they made the thoughtless to waver,* especially when the Protestant clergy had been banished, and their good books were taken away." It is besides remarked, that thus were the first

* About that time many of Upper Lusatia, who were closely connected with the court became Romanists, without constraint, merely by the persuasions of Prince Lichtenstein, as Syndic Justus Gebhardt, at Zittau, in 1625, and Syndic Glich Milsiz, at Görlitz, in 1622. In consequence of this they became court-counsellors. See Otto's Dictionary of Upper Lusatian Literature.

fruits of apostasy gained before they had anything to suffer ; but that, toward the steadfast, the flattering voice was changed into fury, and they were tormented with threatenings, banishments, beating, fines, imprisonments, torture and death.

The more the Emperor desired that all should be done in kindness, without constraint or otherwise, the more careful were the converters that the people going over to Romanism, should expressly say in their confession, or testify by writing, that it was not done by compulsion, but by their own free-will. It was not until kindness proved to be of no effect, and the conversion in many parts made slow progress, Protestants remaining everywhere steadfast in their faith, that more decidedly severe and harsh measures began to be adopted: viz. in 1624 and 1627, when Protestantism gradually sunk under violence.

The measures adopted were carried out with systematical severity,* especially in places where the officers in authority, the superior clergy, and the military, were resolute and unfeeling men. In the above mentioned years, the complete abolition of all toleration, and the necessity of reducing every thing to the form of Romanism, was effected with stern determination.

* By greater severity Ferdinand II. succeeded in what Ferdinand I. and Rudolph had failed. Of them it could be said, as in 1685 the Bishop of Valencia said at Versailles, to the King who massacred the Huguenots : " With what pleasure will they (the previous Kings) see that this pretended religion, which under their reign used to be called a sensible religion, to which even most of the great at court clung fast, is now entirely despised destroyed and reduced to a miserable condition, so that it may easily be concluded, that the same will in future be despised by every sensible man." Thus a blinded clergy flattered their king.

In order to accomplish as soon as possible, the desired end of converting the whole of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, it was thought of the first importance to stop up the sources of the evil; viz. to deprive the Protestants of their churches, to depose their clergy and drive them out of the country, and to destroy all the religious books, especially the Bibles. But as there were so many who, notwithstanding, obstinately refused to apostatize, and the punishment of death was not openly permitted, they were finally forced to banish all those from the country who would not yield, without any regard to the loss thereby occasioned to Bohemia.

The formal persecution of the Protestants did not begin immediately after the conquest by Ferdinand; a year passed in uncertainty, expectation, and fear. On the Easter of 1622 the communion, *sub utraque*, was yet allowed to be administered in the Tein-church, and in St. Henry's, which was attended by crowds. But when the Papal nuncio interdicted it, very few came. There was a general oppressive sullenness, as it were, which in nature usually precedes a heavy storm. How, and against whom the storm first broke out, we are told in the Book of Persecutions:—"The fury of our opponents," say the eye-witnesses, "began to rage against the Anabaptists in Moravia, a year after their conquest. These possessed about forty-five places of worship, in each of which there dwelt several families. They lived peaceable and quiet, according to their peculiar constitution, in community of goods; were no burden to any, but rather useful, on account of their industry and readiness to serve

others. These were first banished from the country, about the autumn of 1622, upon an accusation that they had shewn hospitality towards Frederic during his journey through Moravia. This the Romanists did by way of experiment; if it succeeded, they intended to proceed with more confidence. These unhappy people were accordingly obliged to quit their houses, lands, and vineyards, (immediately before the vintage), and emigrated to Transylvania in great companies, with their aged and children, upon some hundreds of waggons. As they obtained good places, they could count themselves happy, having escaped many sufferings which afterwards broke out upon us.

“After they had been expelled, it is said, that special consultations were held for the means of getting rid of the so-called Picards* and Calvinists. But that did not appear quite so easy. For first, both those parties had many of the great nobility among them, against whom not even the appearance of unfaithfulness against the Emperor could be shewn. There could, therefore, be found no pretence for punishing all alike; nor could their banishment be so easily effected as in the case of the Anabaptists, who were without human protectors. Secondly, the Calvinists could not so easily be distinguished from the Lutherans, as the Anabaptists from the Evangelicals. And finally, it was deemed impolitic to excite the indignation of the Reformed princes and kings. It was therefore concluded not to begin with their expulsion at present, but to attack them by turns, according as opportunity should present itself. The result proved that they had re-

* Bohemian Brethren.

solved to torment the Evangelicals, to induce them to apostatize from despair, and thus be able the easier to drive from the country those who remained faithful. This was agreed upon in the conclave at Rome, at the instigation of the crafty Paul Michna."

This chief instrument in the Anti-reformation, whose name we have already found as secretary of state, in the signatures to the charter, was a native of Budin. He was the son of a butcher, and educated by the Jesuits, through whose influence he obtained a place with the King's secretary. The house of Austria, which he had served faithfully, raised him to the knighthood. He soon afterwards became one of the richest barons, and was finally created a count. When the Romish counsellors deliberated upon the measures to be adopted after their victory, and whether the Protestants were now to be driven out of the country, and with which party they were to make the beginning, he is said to have replied:—"No, not yet; for at present they have much to take with them; too much money would be carried out of the country, and the exile would too easily be borne. They must first be fleeced, and made quite poor; then all will be managed much easier." And his advice was followed.

It has already been stated that the most essential measures for the oppression of the Evangelicals were judged to be the *shutting up of their churches; the removal of their teachers; and the destruction of their books*. These three preliminary steps it is necessary to detail. After the abolition of the consistory, the oppressors of the Evangelical religion chiefly turned their attention to the destruction of

the public worship of the Protestants. As soon as Ferdinand became master of Bohemia, they hastened to deprive the Protestants of their churches in Prague; to shut them up for a time, and to seal the doors, or even to destroy them at once in their fury; and those which they spared they consecrated anew, and gave over to the Romish clergy. This was also the course adopted with the new churches which had been built by the Protestants: among others the splendid Salvator church in the old town of Prague, which, with the adjoining school, was given to the Pauline monks, (also called Minimi and friars-minor) who during the superiority of the Evangelicals had been greatly reduced.

Interesting accounts are preserved in the Book of Persecutions on the treatment of churches,* pulpits, statues, and tombs of the dead. Not satisfied with the consecration of the churches by the word of God and prayer, they sprinkled them with holy water; and what must have appeared ridiculous to the people, and a true mark of hatred to every thinking man, was their lashing and whipping the pulpits where the Evangelicals had preached, and the altars where the Lord's supper had been administered under both species, according to the institution of Christ. They were even not ashamed to commit such folly in the most important cities, as Prague, Iglau, and Znaim. When the Jesuits were about to consecrate their church in Prague, which the United Brethren had occupied during the

* The like indignation we perceive in our own day. When in 1843 the Evangelicals were erecting a new church in Prague, the ultra-Catholics opposed them most furiously, and would not suffer it to be called "Eglise de la Rédemption."

time of King Frederic, they first strewed gunpowder over the floor, and then set fire to it, in order to destroy the poison of heresy by smoke and flame. The cups of stone and metal, erected on most of the churches, steeples, and city-gates, in memory of the utraquistic religion, were every where removed.* On the 23rd of January, 1623, the colossal gilded chalice was taken down from the top of the Tein-church, and the statue of Mary put in its place. Instead of the statue of King George, which had stood by the side of the chalice as its defender, they now erected that of Ferdinand, who had drawn the sword against heresy. At Königingrätz they destroyed the chalice which had been upon the gate of the church of St. Antonius, and instead of it they painted the liburium with an overturned chalice, from the bottom of which an impure matter is represented as flowing, with the inscription of Psalm lxxv. 8. On the wall over the door they wrote in gold letters:—"My house is a house of prayer, but not thine, thou detested Calvin." In Leitmeritz they removed from the church the ancient paintings of Huss and Jerome, and again vented their fury upon those venerable martyrs.

"They also carefully considered beforehand whether the churches would be fit and profitable for them to be retained, either with respect to locality, or the kind of building. If any did not suit them they either shut it up without delay, and prohibited Evangelical worship from being performed in it; or they levelled it to the ground, as at Klostergrab. In

* There is yet a tower at Leitmeritz in the shape of a chalice, and in the town hall a beautiful missal with paintings of the age of the Hussites.

the Kleinseite of Prague was a church which had been built by the Evangelicals. The Carmelite monks purchased many of the houses in the neighbourhood, and built a convent there. But as the church was not convenient for them, nor according to their liking, they pulled it down, in several parts to the very foundation, especially on that side where the altar had stood ; and built it anew. This was done out of insult and blasphemy, that the place where the holy supper had before been administered in both kinds, and where the chief service had been performed might be trodden under foot, as is still done daily. " But as there are now considerable rents in various parts of the building, (says Holyk,) they are sorry that they did not break down all the walls, and dig up the whole foundation, for as I have heard the monks say, the Lutheran heretical buildings can have neither strength nor duration. There are besides many churches shut up, forsaken and desolate, in which no one can nor dare enter ; for example, the beautiful new church at Welwarn, three miles from Prague, which stands there without windows, so that only the sparrows have their nests in it. Three miles on the other side of Prague, in a desolate place, formerly a village, there is also such a splendid church, that it pains one's heart to behold it when only seen from without. It has still its beautiful bells ; yet no one dare enter it, nor are the bells ever rung, because the church is defiled ; the bishops not having yet reconsecrated it. Wherever there was a splendid church, and suitably situated, they spared the building, but all the ornaments were removed, and the paintings and epitaphs destroyed

and burnt. When that was done, they fitted up the whole church afresh, reconsecrated, baptized, and washed it with holy water; anointed the altars with holy oil, and deposited in it bones of the saints. The monuments on the outside of the church, whether painted or otherwise, were also eradicated and broken; even the doors, knobs, and flagstones were altered, and in place of them were set up either the image of the Virgin Mary, or of some other saint, with Spanish crosses. On various churches they set up insulting images, and painted lampoons against the chalice and its defenders, so that in the whole of Bohemia there hardly remained a church unabused, with the exception of one, that was left because they could not easily alter it, though they would gladly have done so. That church stands in the middle of the new-market, or the cattle-market, at Prague, and is built in the form of a star; it was formerly called All-Saints, but now, Corpus-Dei. On the west side there are three doors; on the east side there are marble slabs over the windows; and there are golden inscriptions over the doors in the Hungarian, Latin, and German languages, but over the windows in the Bohemian, referring to the edict of the Emperor Sigismund; having this remarkable sentiment,—that it is wholesome that the holy eucharist be received in both kinds, and that the Bohemians, Moravians, and others of the incorporated states who so receive the eucharist, are orthodox Christians, and true children of the holy church of God. Many of the aged people of Bohemia shed tears when they read it, and shew it to the young, and also with it upbraid the students, as has been

done to me, by asking why those inscriptions have not been eradicated and destroyed if they are heretical? I have heard that the Jesuits attempted on three different occasions to get down the slab which is over the windows. But they failed in each attempt; for of those who went up, one either broke his neck, or received some deadly injury. Over the doors they have made little ledges against the rain, so that only very few of the letters of the last line can be discovered."

Having spoken of the churches, we may add here the manner in which they treated the churchyards. It is stated by eye-witnesses, that "when in 1621, a convent was restored to the monks at Horasdowiz, which had been for many years in the possession of the Bohemian Brethren, the graves of the Evangelical clergy were broken open. The bones of Jacob Weliky, a very eminent man, who had died in 1600, were taken out, and the warden Severin Dudek took an iron rod and beat them in pieces with loud maledictions. Afterwards they were burnt in the convent, with the bones of John Popel, John Japhet, and Matthias Chobar, who had been buried there in 1599, 1614, and 1616. In that church were also deposited the remains of the lords of the manor, barons Swihow, whose graves were examined by the warden, and who took from the bodies the rings, gorgets, and other valuables found upon them. The body of Theobald Swihow, who had been one of the defenders of the consistory and the university, he ordered to be taken out of the grave and the lead coffin, and to be put in a wooden box and thrown into a pit near the convent, where it was covered with rubbish. In the year

1623, when the church at Czaslau was taken from the Evangelicals, they found the following inscription upon a grave-stone: "Here lie the remains of John Ziska, governor of the country, at the time of danger, who died for the cup, in and for the name of God, in the year 1424, on Thursday before St. Gall's." They immediately began to dig up one who had rested there nearly 200 years. But, however deep they digged they could find nothing but dust. Their fury was then directed against the stone, upon which his effigy had once been sculptured, but was now effaced; they broke it in pieces, and threw it out of the church with the dust of the grave. Thus they avenged themselves upon the dead, who when alive defended the living. In the same year they cleared the churches of Prague of the heretics buried in them, and removing the marble tomb-stone of Rokyczan broke it into small pieces. But his grave was not found until the year 1630, when the body of the Jesuit P. Lucas, minister of that church, was to be buried on the 24th of September; they then discovered some brick-work deep in the ground, within which were a few decayed bones, with two cups, the one of brass and the other of wax, in good preservation, and a piece of damask cloth. Some long reddish hair yet remained on the skull.

The following is stated by Holyk :—"When they found stone statues of some worthy Lutheran ministers, or chalices, or anything of the kind, either in a church or a churchyard, they first mutilated and disfigured them by throwing dirt or stones at them, scratching out the eyes, breaking the noses, &c. till finally they threw down the whole

and broke them into small pieces. They then dug out the remains which had been interred beneath, and threw them into some pit at a distance from the church. Among many other instances, the following happened in Prague in my presence. When the monks were about to take possession of the church of St. Giles, and to enlarge its vaults, so as to build the convent in form of a square, they had to include an adjoining churchyard wherein thousands had been buried. This they overturned and destroyed. All the stones, epitaphs, and monuments, they threw out, and levelled the place, in order to make it a skittle ground. They had not even patience to wait until it was prepared. There they were with their skittles and balls amusing themselves. Nor did I, poor sinner, keep aloof; I shared in the sport. When they had thus torn up the ground of the churchyard in order to build up a new wall, they discovered many graves and coffins, in which there were the bones of several thousands, as though a large charnel-house had been there. All these they threw out in great fury, and put them together in one pit. It often happened that they would say to one of the skulls: "Ha! ha! this was doubtless a great roguish heretic, and perhaps a preacher, (an Evangelical minister) because he has so large a head." The best titles given to those remains were: "This is a tolerably old man, a Bohemian rogue, a heretic, a rebel," and the like. At another time when in Nikolsburg, in Moravia, I walked about with a Capuchin monk in the great church called Lauretana (built in the form of the church in Italy, called the Loretto-house, having around it small chapels, and

within it a little house containing the image of the Virgin Mary); and coming to one of those chapels in which were a great number of banners and other ornaments, as a sword, a hat with feathers, golden spurs, armour, &c. I asked him who was buried there. He told me it was a great general, who died in the service of the King of Sweden: 'I understand,' said the Capuchin, 'that next week the body, with the banners, and all the ornaments, are to be removed. But,' continued he, 'because the chapel has been defiled through the burial in it of this heretic, mass cannot be said until it is again consecrated by a bishop, who is shortly expected from Olmütz for that purpose.'"

In a subsequent page we shall speak of the ignominious treatment of those who died during the time of persecution; notwithstanding it is well known that honourable interment was by no means denied to the Romanists, when the Evangelical cities were compelled to admit them as citizens.

CHAPTER II.

EXPULSION OF THE EVANGELICAL CLERGY:—THE BRETHREN—THE CALVINISTS—THE BOHEMIAN AND GERMAN LUTHERANS—CHARLES ZIEROTIN—THE POLISH MONKS—PROCEEDINGS IN WALLENSTEIN'S DOMAINS—THE SUPERINTENDENT GUNTHER—VILLAGE OF ULLERSDORF.

THE *second* measure adopted for accomplishing the Anti-reformation in Bohemia, was the banishment of the Evangelical clergy, the professors and school-masters. The authors of the Book of Persecutions, who were contemporary and partly eye-witnesses, furnish us with many remarkable examples, which present a true picture of those melancholy times.

Before they speak of the regularly organized persecutions of the Protestants, they give some details of the wanton cruelties which the imperial soldiers perpetrated towards such of the ministers as fell into their hands.

“The prelude to the intended severity against the servants of the word of God, was the cruel treatment which the imperial soldiers exercised, even before the conquest, against those who fell into their hands. Among those unfortunate clergymen, was Wenzel Wotiz, at Bistritz, near Hostin in Moravia, whom, though he was ill in bed, the Polish soldiers, unmindful of age and sickness, carried away with them to Austria, despoiling him of all he had; and finally they shot him dead, on the 5th February, 1620.

The day following they killed Paul Capito, curate of Napajedlo, in a very cruel manner, after inflicting numerous wounds upon him. When Prague was taken, the clergy experienced the fury of the enemy, first in that district, and then in parts beyond it; for the soldiers having obtained leave to plunder, believed they had unlimited license against the heretical preachers. This will be shewn by many examples. Paul Moller, curate of Zrutschen, was in the pulpit when the imperial army entered; and being struck by a musket-ball dropped down dead in the church. Pastor Martin Maresch, in the village Krzessin had been put in a place of security, against the roving imperialists, by his patron Smilo, lord of Lakawetz. As soon as they had broken in they seized the schoolmaster, Frederic Damborsky, bound him with ropes, commanding him to tell where the pastor was, and where he had deposited his money. He assured them that he knew neither the one thing nor the other; but they were only the more violent, striking him with their fists, and then beating him with clubs. They finally uncovered and cruelly cauterized his side. The excruciating pain of that torture induced him to promise that he would shew them the treasure; and he took them to a pit covered with stones. They soon cleared and explored the pit; but as they found no treasure, they again fell furiously upon the unhappy man, who could only acknowledge that he never knew anything of a treasure, but that he was compelled to speak of it from the excessive pains they had inflicted. Upon this they shot him dead, and assigned that same pit as his grave. On the third day those murderous men succeeded in seizing the pastor himself in the village

of Popowitz. They also employed measures of torture for gaining their purpose, and soon left him for dead upon the spot. He nevertheless revived and lived five years longer. But alas, they had seized his two daughters, whom they violated and took with them, so that the unfortunate father never saw them more.

“Wenzel Jacksch was minister at Kaunitz, four miles from Prague. They made him prisoner, dragged him across the Elbe to Kosteletz, and there scourged him. They then took a knotted rope, and by means of a piece of wood, so compressed his head that his eyes started out. They, moreover, led him forth to a public place and let loose against him a very wild horse; which when near him sprang on one side and left him uninjured. By great exertions, he was finally released, but not without a ransom of 500 florins. Paul Welwar, pastor of Czelakow was taken at the same time. As they considered him to be rich they tormented him the more, at one time with burning coals, at another by laying ice upon them, until he had assigned 5000 florins to them. But he died a few days afterwards. Andrew Stenberg of Budin was taken from his parish by fifteen horsemen, and conveyed to Kosteletz, where he was also tortured by strapping his head. They then bound him hand and foot, and threw him upon his back, intending to torture him the next morning with fire. But he was miraculously delivered about midnight. During his prayer, when he uttered the words of the Psalmist, “For in thee do I hope, O Lord,” he felt his hands becoming loose and untied. He arose, went to the door, passed by the three guards, who were present, but who remained

quiet, either because they were asleep, or could not hear on account of a sudden gust of wind. One, who was probably the instrument of his deliverance, had his hand upon the door-latch. At the city-gate he was recognized by the musketeer on guard, who happily being a native Bohemian, compassionated the condition of Stemberg, gave him his liberty, and conducted him over the bridge to the other side of the river. They also seized the pastor of Konigin-Mestitz, John Moyses, with his wife, and tortured him to death by cruel burning."

In the same manner they laid hold of pastor Simon Antecănius in Horoziz, whom they suspended from a pole, and painfully tortured with fire till he named to them every place where he had money. The pastor of Bakoven they treated in a similar manner, until he died. The curate of Nimes was cut in pieces by some plundering Poles who had broken into his house; and at Aurenowes, where the pastor Andreas Jacobiz had made his escape, they vented their fury upon a young man who was secretary to the treasurer. They filled his mouth with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, his throat was burst asunder. In this kind of death these cruel men delighted, as a sublime exhibition. Adam Pisek was pastor at Byteschin in Moravia in the district of Count Charles Zierotin. As his patron had remained faithful to Ferdinand, the pastor thought himself safe, and he received the soldiers who came to him, in a friendly and hospitable manner. But as soon as they learned that he was a Protestant minister, they cruelly beat him to death, stripped his body naked, and then plundered his house. His

library occupied three rooms,* but they threw the books into a heap and burned them. As no one ventured to come near the poor man while this band was in the town, the pastor was not buried until five weeks afterwards by a few of his pupils.

On the 17th of January 1621, the pastor of Ratin, Lorenz Kurz, a man sixty years of age, was with his wife, so cruelly burnt, by a soldier who demanded money of him, that within a short time they both expired. The curate of Bohdalow, Paul (or Matthias) Pseniczka, near seventy years of age, was hung up by his private parts, and consumed by the flames, which ascended from his burning books. Under this torture he prayed for mercy, upon which one of the soldiers fired a musket-ball through him. Many others besides were in a similar manner plundered, tortured, and put to death.

These atrocities were certainly the acts of a licentious and infuriated soldiery, but we have also enough to report of legal and formal persecution, which the evangelical clergy suffered from their triumphing enemies; who indeed denied that it was a religious persecution, asserting that it was merely the punishment of high treason.

On the 10th of March, 1621, the curates and schoolmasters, (beside the professors of the Caroline College) who adhered to the doctrine of Calvin, and the Picards or Bohemian Brethren, received orders to quit Prague within three days, and the whole kingdom within six.

The clergy of the Brethren, John Cyrillus, senior of the consistory, John Corvinus and Paul

* There are many other indications to be found that the clergy of that period, were truly men of learning.

Fabricius, had either already left or were concealed ; for their hearers did not live in a separate parish, but were dispersed over all Prague. Being afraid that the little Bethlehem church would be taken from them, they had begun to build another for themselves. During the interregnum they had indeed the church of the Jesuits for their worship, but this the fathers seized on their return. Besides, as every place was occupied by soldiers, and all were full of terror, the hearers requested not to be called together to the Bethlehem chapel, until the disturbance should be over. But the terror rather increased than diminished, and the once interrupted public worship, could no more be restored. On this account, those Brethren who understood something of the German language, attended the German-evangelical service, which was yet continued in the Salvator and Trinity churches.

The administrator of the evangelical consistory, George Dicastus,* was now summoned before Lichtenstein. He was commissioned to lay the following six points before the Evangelical clergy of Prague, the German as well as the Bohemian. They were—1. To collect among themselves a sum of several thousands, and lend it to the Emperor for defraying his pensions :—2. To renounce publicly the coronation of Frederic : — 3. To restore the old church order :—4. To apply to the archbishop for new ordinations to their church offices :—5. To resign their marriage state, or at least expressly to petition the archbishop for indulgence in their once formed marriages :—6. That if any were prepared to resign their church offices, and enter

* Who found refuge and a grave in Zittau ; he was a learned and well-meaning man.

upon secular business, high favour and civil appointments awaited them. These articles did not meet with the desired success, for the ministers answered unanimously, that they could do nothing against their conscience.*

The Romanists had immediately recourse to violent measures. On the 13th of December the governor Lichtenstein issued a severe edict. In this the Evangelical clergy were accused of having been the sole cause of the Bohemian revolution, as those who by inflammatory speeches and writings had stirred up the people, especially the higher orders, against the Emperor, and had advised them to engage in disastrous alliances, urging the election of a new king. That like unruly and insane men, they did not yet cease secretly and openly to throw everything into confusion, and to make the Emperor odious with the people. That therefore, for the good of the public peace, they were to quit Prague within three days, and the whole country and lands incorporated with it, within six, and never to return again. But should any one continue or return within the boundaries of the kingdom,† or if

* Jacobäi, who was present at this scene, says, "After we had been informed of this, we unanimously answered the reporter, that we relied upon the help of God, and could not act against our conscience; and that we would in due time petition the authority whence those articles proceeded. We prayed, in all humility, but the voice of supplication had no effect; moreover, the state of the Evangelical Church assumed daily a more precarious aspect."

† The severity afterwards practised against transgressors, was certainly the result of this law, and the subordinate authorities merely did as they were commanded; yet as they exhibited a pleasure in fulfilling the command, it is useless to attempt an apology for them.

any one should conceal or shelter them, under whatever pretext, both parties were alike to be punished with death.

It is necessary that we now give a somewhat more minute account of the motives (in show only political), by which the government were actuated in their proceedings.* The reasons assigned will be found in the following quotations, from the Governor's edict of the 13th of December, 1621.

“ Although in the commandments of God, as also in the secular ancient laws of these imperial and royal countries, it is ordained and provided, that no one is to stir up rebellion against the authorities, nor to take part in the like disorders ; especially, that the preachers, during the present fatal divisions in our Christian faith, do not, under any cloak or false pretext, assist in stirring up and agitating the common people to any uproar or rebellion, under pain of the punishments pointed out in the above mentioned divine and secular laws ; it is nevertheless an undeniable fact, known throughout the realm, that some Bohemian preachers have disseminated the principal motives for the late fatal rebellion. On the Sundays and the fast-days of the year 1618, many of them published and promulgated a malicious pamphlet, filled with falsehood, whereby they made wrong impressions upon the minds of the common people, and also set them against the highest authority, at that time his Imperial Majesty the Emperor Matthias, now resting in God, and afterwards the

* About the year 1622, a proposition was made to Ferdinand by Henry Lancelot, to eradicate Calvinism from his German territories.

present Prince and Lord, Ferdinand II., chosen Roman Emperor, also King of Hungary and Bohemia, our most gracious sovereign; as also against his majesty's appointed governors, high officers, and counsellors. They detached the people from their dutiful and hereditary subjection, and led and exhorted them to wanton and dangerous preparation of arms and criminal rebellion. Also, after the rebellion began, some of them delivered sermons in the Caroline College, urging the confederates, by encouraging promises, steadily to persevere in their design. The above mentioned Bohemian preachers, have likewise read wanton and blasphemous prayers, against his Imperial Majesty, and his faithful adherents, on certain hours of the day, in various churches of the cities of Prague, even with tolling of bells, and in the presence of the people; which prayers as also sermons were printed and publicly sold. The like and other presumptuous, grievous, and sinful crimes they committed.

“At length the rebels and their ringleaders, with the concurrence of the great community, as it was called, presumed even to think of another would-be ruler, and of establishing him, by a treasonable and invalid election, as the new King of Bohemia. This ungodly and obnoxious work, the above mentioned preachers forwarded and carried on with their utmost power and diligence; they assisted in the pretended coronation of the forcibly intruding, and since then, justly outlawed, Palatine Frederic, and in short lent their aid towards accomplishing and executing everything, which *they* considered essential and beneficial to the power, extent and increase of this accursed confederacy and combination;

whereby they hoped miserably to entangle and confuse the whole of Christendom, and also speedily to bring the barbarous and brutal yoke of the heathen, and the violence of the Turk, that arch-enemy of the Christian name, into the heart of this kingdom, as well as into the holy Roman realm, the German nation, and beloved Christendom at large. Not to mention that many of these restless persons have not ceased, even to this moment, both in public and private, whenever they have an opportunity, to mislead and alienate the minds of the people, and to inspire them with hatred, exasperation, and ill-will, against his Imperial Majesty. Now for the administration of the above mentioned divine commandments and the salutary laws of the country, but especially for the maintenance and preservation of the general peace, his Imperial Majesty's commissioners for that purpose, after duly considering the authenticated information of this undeniable occurrence, have decreed : That those rebels and seditious persons, especially those who, in 1618, published and spread amongst the people the seditious proclamations and libels, and have also performed the invalid act of the coronation, and by their presence caused and contributed to the misleading of the common people, should *one and all (although they deserve a severer punishment,)* be removed and banished from his Imperial Majesty's kingdom of Bohemia, and from all territories incorporated therewith or otherwise belonging to his Majesty and the house of Austria.

“ They are however, permitted, *from pure lenity and liberality,* to take with them their moveable property, or even to *sell* their immoveable property,

through an agent, within the space of three months. But if any one or more of them shall be found in Prague, or in the kingdom of Bohemia, or in any other of his Majesty's territories, after the above specified time, and it shall be proved that they assisted in the publication of the before-mentioned libels, or that they abetted the insurrection and revolt against his Imperial Majesty, or have been guilty of any other crime connected therewith: then shall such person or persons without exception, at once be sentenced to death, as examples to others. In conclusion, it is decreed, that *no one* in the territories of his Imperial Majesty, shall grant these extruded and banished people, knowingly or accidentally, either shelter, or lodging, or food, or drink, nor retain or suffer them beyond the specified time, as they wish to avoid the great displeasure of his Majesty, besides a punishment similar to that above mentioned."

Several Lutheran clergymen, who had previously, with others, left the country, in consequence of the edict against the Calvinistic and Picardic ministers, and sought refuge in Saxony, now entreated the government of that country to enable them to return to Bohemia in safety. In consequence of this, the Prince Elector wrote to the governor, Adam Wallenstein:—"At first we were disinclined to believe the edict concerning the expulsion of the Evangelical preachers, and certainly did not expect that it would be so speedily enforced. We will not now discuss the accusations brought against them; but surely such precipitate proceedings are inexcusable. How can you banish so suddenly, without a proper trial? It is even reported, that the places of the exiled

clergy are now filled by Catholics, which fact sufficiently announces the reason *why* the Evangelical preachers have been expelled the country. By such things the people are driven to desperation. We cannot allow the fire to break out anew on our borders. We shall expect from you, before proceeding any farther, more exact information on all that has taken place."

To this Wallenstein replied, on the 13th January, 1622, as follows:—"The edict in question has reference to *political* crimes *only*. That it has so speedily been enforced, is owing to the fact, that Prince Lichtenstein, was obliged to go to Vienna, and was anxious to discharge his duty previous to his departure. Besides, no individual is mentioned or banished by name in the edict so much spoken of, but every one is allowed to examine his own conscience. If those then, who *knew* themselves guilty, have evaded the mild sentence of his Imperial Majesty, in order to escape the decreed punishment, they have no reason to complain. The quiet, peaceable *sub-utraque* priests, who have been the least stirring, have remained in their former situations and places. Lichtenstein has informed the German preachers of the Augsburg confession in this place, that they and other innocent persons, are nowise included in the edict. The report, that Catholics have been appointed to their places, is untrue."

Such appointments were, however, systematically made; but it was pretended to be considered in the light of a new Lord, (of a castle for instance,) appointing new servants, according to his own mind. The dismissal was, therefore, not admitted as an act of injustice.

The Bohemian clergy, (those who spoke the

Bohemian language,) being thus forcibly driven from Prague, their churches were given to the Jesuits. Out of respect for the Elector of Saxony, and at his intercession, the German clergy* were spared for a short period. But no pen can describe the consternation of those Protestants, who accompanied their pastors to bid them a last farewell.

The Bohemian population, (the Evangelical-Lutherans) who were thus deprived of their preachers, now attended divine service in the German Evangelical churches. The Jesuits, therefore, began to think, that it would be better to offend the Elector of Saxony, than to allow this to continue.†

They accordingly insisted upon the banishment of the German pastors, or at least their *gracious dismissal*; and notwithstanding the protestations and intercession of the Elector, they also were obliged to quit Prague. The names of these clergymen were:—Caspar Wagner, David Lippach, Sigismund Scherez, and Fabian Nathus. Great

* In 1615, the *states* themselves had ordered that preaching in German should be discontinued, and that after the demise of the present German preachers, *only* such should be elected as could speak the Bohemian tongue. See this edict in Pelzel's Hist. ii. 681. This, no doubt, was for the encouragement of native preachers, and the exclusion of foreigners.

† The Elector afterwards complained to the Emperor, that he had appealed in vain to Lichtenstein, and expresses his great surprise at such severity. "If Bohemia be culpable, there should still be a distinction made between the guilty and the innocent; besides, they have been promised a pardon; let the Emperor remember his past services, and not give occasion to greater distrust, but shew himself merciful like his ancestors, who graciously tolerated the Evangelical people; let him open the closed churches, and thus gladden the hearts of several thousand mourners."

numbers of their German and Bohemian parishioners accompanied them to the open fields, where they delivered their farewell sermon, on the 29th October 1622.

The most striking picture of the departure of the four Lutheran-German clergymen, is from the written statement of Sigismund Scherez, one of the exiles. It deserves to be inserted here, as vividly exhibiting the melancholy occurrences of that time. No one can read it without sympathy. "We," says he, "have been dismissed by imperial command, and have been obliged to leave our dear and numerous hearers behind us. When it first became known that we four German evangelical preachers, who yet remained in Prague, were to be dismissed, we encouraged one another, and exhorted our hearers also to be steadfast with cheerful constancy. These our devout exhortations, by the power of God, so penetrated the hearts of many, that they wept bitter tears with a devout and zealous heart, in the midst of our sermons, which they attended in large numbers. Many of the Popish religion were also present, some from a pure motive, but others for the purpose of reporting our words. The people mutually consoled themselves, and encouraged one another to fortitude and patience, that they might be resigned to the will of God, and submissive to the commands of the Emperor. In the two German churches of Salvator and Trinity, above 2000 communicants assembled at the Lord's table within a fortnight, many of them being Bohemians, who understood but little of the German language, and who had come from a true and pure zeal for religion. Indeed, the number of communicants would have

been doubled, if the greater part of them had not expected that we should have been allowed a month for preparation, or at least have been permitted publicly to deliver our farewell sermon, and administer the sacrament to those, who so ardently desired to receive it for the last time. But as certain Popish priests could not rest, until we were out of their sight, we had to depart suddenly, that none of us might be present on the following Sunday. And now we were obliged to commence our journey, having indeed the consolation of being informed by an ambassador of the court, that His Imperial Majesty had nothing against us personally, nor was our approaching departure a punishment, but only a *gracious dismissal*, as, amongst other things, the collation of the two German churches, rested *jure belli* with His Imperial Majesty, we should, therefore, receive every assistance in our removal ;—and this was actually done. Thereupon we moved away, in the name of the Lord Jesus. May God graciously take pity on the high and low, the great and small, of good and zealous hearts, in our forsaken flock, and may He turn and end their great misery, according to His infinite power and mercy !”

At first, their enemies would by no means officially acknowledge, that the dismissal took place on account of religion. With regard to the Evangelical Bohemians, the reasons assigned were only, that they had, by order of the states, read the before-mentioned protestation to the people ; that they had supplied them with sermons ; and that they had crowned and prayed for the elected King. To the Germans they were now obliged to confess, that they had nothing against them ; therefore, their

antipathy could alone be against their religion. They only applied a negative punishment, "emigrationis privilegium miserabile." But that this dismissal happened unexpectedly and under a very short notice, is testified by Scherez, in the following words:—"The people regretted that we were not permitted to remain *a week*. They found it still more grievous, that they could not hear our farewell sermon in the house of God. And most grievous of all did they feel it, that we dared not administer to them the holy sacrament, as they desired, nor were even permitted to administer it in our own houses, (for the churches had already been closed), to those who had made a preparatory confession in the church the evening before, October 24th. They took it seriously to heart, that some persons of high rank, could neither by personal, nor written applications, obtain permission for the celebration of the holy communion. May God Almighty forgive the cruel people, who are the cause of this harsh measure! Let them beware, that they will some day be punished for it, by God and their own conscience. We have been *compelled* to suffer these things with great patience."

"It was very mournful to behold the many penitent hearts that came to us, during the day, ardently desiring, that as we were compelled to quit so suddenly, we would previously administer to them the sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, as a consolation in their future misery. When, however, they heard (which some already knew), that we were strictly prohibited from doing so, they left us with such lamentable weeping, that our own eyes were filled with tears. Some honest Romanists evinced

their grief and displeasure at this occurrence,* saying, 'It would not fare well with those who so suddenly enforced the edict against us.' As long as I live, I shall remain grateful to them for this christian sympathy. The day after the edict for our departure had been announced to us, the church of the Holy Trinity, which had been closed unexpectedly and without our knowledge, was reopened, at our request, for the purpose of taking some books and other things which we had left in the vestry. Immediately a great crowd, amongst whom were some of the nobility, assembled at the door, and begged hard, that they might once more be allowed to enter the church, to call upon God, and to say the Lord's Prayer. As soon as this was granted, they ardently entered the church, fell on their knees, prayed with fervency and wept bitterly. Some of them bent their faces to the ground and kissed it. Not a few of them knelt down at the altar, and at last kissed the steps and the tapestry. When evening approached, and they were obliged to quit the church again, they went away like a flock of sheep in great melancholy, continually looking up to the church, and blessing the beautiful house of God with many heart-touching yet delightful words, so that I who was present, wished that thousands of pious Christians could have witnessed this their holy zeal and devotion! The day after the church had once more been locked and sealed, a few devout women, celebrated, miserably enough, their 'churching.' They placed their

* Not the *inhabitants* of Prague, but only the Popish clergy, and a few apostates, were inimical to the Protestants.

infants on the threshold of the temple, kneeled with their friends, one after another on the steps, and after fervent prayer, went home in grief and tears." The final departure of these German pastors, and their escape by the goodness of God, from the hands of the military and their enemies, are thus described by Scherez:—"Most of the streets were full of weeping and mourning people. We could scarcely reach the vehicles, so great was the crowd, and the windows of the houses which we passed, were filled with spectators. The enemies laughed and scoffed; the friends sighed and wept, wishing us legions of angels for companions and protectors. The Lord seems indeed to have fulfilled their wishes, since He has graciously preserved us in many great and imminent dangers, and enabled us to escape the attacks of our enemies, who were lurking for us, by the way, so that at length we safely reached Dresden, where we met with the most friendly reception. When we and a few merchants* were about to quit Prague, we were informed that three detachments of cavalry had marched out of the town, with a design of pillaging us on the road. This information was confirmed the next day, for between Welwarn and Leitmeritz, spies arrived, riding very slowly, and closely examining both our soldiers† and vehicles. They refused to tell who they were, but dismissed and threatened those whom we sent to them. Shortly after, we saw in a forest, at some distance to the left,

* Natives of Lower Saxony, who were about to return to their country from conscientious motives, having received the necessary passports.

† Namely, those who conducted the clergy from Prague to the borders.

a great number of cavalry, who hastened down the hill with great noise and tumult. This somewhat alarmed us. But immediately after, God sent us two pious peasants, who shewed us a ford across the river Eger, which we safely passed, with divine assistance, though the waggons were filled with water, and some even were nearly overturned. Our enemies, who knew not this ford (for it was in a valley, and not perceivable from the road,) and had besides rode too far out of the way, in their attempt to intercept us, straggled about till late in the evening, and being blinded by God, they were unable to injure us; though they vented their rage on several villages near Melnich, which they reached that night. Yea, the Lord preserved us a second time that night, from the fury of Satan. For on arriving at the bridge across the Elbe, near Leitmeritz, sixty Walloons galloped after us with great shouting, incessantly crying: "*Mordi, Schelmo, Luterian!*" which sufficiently announced their ferocious purposes. But as we kept close together, and were defended by our soldiers, and had also sent to the town for assistance, they were obliged to depart, after vainly striking at the waggons with their sabres. We were kindly entertained at Leitmeritz for two days by a Bohemian widow, and then departed for Dresden by water.

"In our hasty departure, we were obliged to leave our wives behind; and it was not till some weeks afterwards that they were able to quit Prague, escorted by a few soldiers. They also had a narrow escape from a detachment of plundering cavalry. The road lay across a wide brook, and if they had passed it, they certainly would have fallen into

the hands of the banditti. But the horses refused to cross the bridge, notwithstanding they were dragged and beaten; and our people were thus obliged to turn back, and stop all night in the adjoining village; where, by the divine protection, they remained in peace, and the day following safely arrived in Leitmeritz. The cavalry, meanwhile, watched for their prey till late in the evening, but were obliged to return to Prague empty-handed;—for which God be praised! This was indeed as the Psalmist consolingly says: “The Lord will command his angels, to guard thee in all thy ways.” These things ought not to be passed in silence, but published, with gratitude to God, for the consolation of other Christians, especially those who are persecuted and banished on account of their faith in the holy gospel. For those that honour God, he honours in return, and suffers them not to come to shame.

“A rumour had been spread with great industry, that all those who would accompany the clergy from the town, should not be permitted to return; and some, being intimidated by the late proceedings, bid us farewell at the gate and withdrew. But this manifested still more clearly the heart-felt love of several thousands, who accompanied us for about half a mile from the town. We then recommended one another to the grace of God, by a short sermon, and after prayer and singing a hymn, we bade adieu.

“The scene before us, greatly resembled the one recorded in Acts xx. when the people accompanied the apostle Paul unto the ship, fell on his neck and kissed him, and all wept bitterly. Every one was

desirous of being nearest to us, and of offering us their hand for the last time."

The author of this statement, Scherez, at a later period, sent some consolatory epistles to the Lutherans of Prague, dated from Dresden and Magdeburg. He died in 1640, as pastor and superintendent of Lüneburg, where, in 1628, he had the grief of seeing five daughters and two sons become, in one day, the victims of a pestilence, which carried off there, in one year, 7,000 people. In Prague he had suffered so much from pillage, that at one time his family were unable to leave the house for want of clothing. He was born at Annaberg, and laboured in 1609 as deacon in Arnstfeld, near Annaberg; in 1610 as minister at Schlackenwald in Bohemia; in 1616 as minister at Carlsbad, (where he published some sermons, which were printed at Wittemberg); then as rector in Tachau, whence he had probably come to Prague after the demise of Helwig Garth in 1619.

Soon after the expulsion of the Evangelical clergy from Prague, commissioners were sent to the other free towns of Bohemia, who forcibly and scornfully drove forth the Protestant ministers.

Among these commissioners, appointed for the anti-reformation in the Schlan and Leitmeritz district, was one George Michna, who went from town to town accompanied by a troop of horsemen. On the festival of St. Catherine he arrived at Schlan, and immediately broke into the church with his armed assistants, where the dean, M. Johann Kaulpius, a talented and spiritual man, was reading at the altar the appointed portion of the Gospel. The commissioner ordered him instantly to be

silent. But as the minister continued reading, he drew his sword and approached him, crying : "Stupid preacher, cease to prattle !"

At the same time he knocked the Bible, with a stroke of the sword, out of his hands. Then the minister lifted up his eyes and hands toward heaven, exclaiming in the words of our Lord : "Woe unto you who shut up the kingdom of heaven against men ! Ye neither go in yourselves, and those who wish to go in ye suffer not to enter. Woe unto you, woe !" (Matth. xxiii. 13.) But the result was only scornful laughter, and the immediate seizure of the minister. He cried : "I am ready to suffer this and every thing else, for the name of my master, Jesus." They construed the words "*my* master Jesus," as an insolent mark of opposition, and cried : "The *emperor* is our master !" The people stood trembling and weeping. At last the first council men came forward and offered bail to the commissioner, that the minister should appear whenever he might be called for. But he threatened to send him to Prague as a prisoner, and could only be prevailed upon to set the minister at liberty on the following day, by the intercession of some ladies of rank ; on condition, however, that he should quit the town within three days. Thus was this faithful clergyman, to the great grief of his community, driven into exile. He died three years afterwards a victim to the pestilence.

At Laun the pastor had escaped, fearing similar barbarous treatment. The commissioner, accusing the community of having permitted the man to depart against the will of the Emperor, extorted

from them a considerable sum of money as a fine, and then formally banished the absent pastor.

In Saaz the minister and dean, John Regius, was obliged to appear in the house of the burgomaster, and formally renounce all connexion with the church, at the same time that he was enjoined to quit the parish within three days, and the town within a week. When he modestly asked what crime he had committed, the answer was: "The Emperor having obtained the victory, was now lord of all the parsonages in his realm; and was desirous of appointing such only as should meet with his approbation." Thus all the Evangelical clergy were obliged to depart the country.

Of the progress of this event, especially at Kuttenberg, we will give a particular statement. In that town, second only to Prague, and possessing an arch-deanery, having almost for a century enjoyed a pure religion, Wilhelm Wrzesowez, chief master of the mint, arrived as commissioner on the 22nd of December, 1620. The church he immediately gave over to the Jesuits, and having assembled the clergy of the town, as well as those who, though already expelled, still dwelt in the country, he reproached them with heresy, rebellion, and other crimes, and demanded if they were willing to return into the bosom of the church; forbade them to celebrate public worship, and added the severest threats in case of resistance. Hitherto no expulsion had been commanded, but on the 27th of July, 1623, it was ordered, by the instigation of the Jesuits, that the Evangelical clergy should quit the town before sunset, and the whole kingdom before the expiration of a week. Several hundred citizens escorted them out of the

place. John Matthiades exhorted the others to constancy, in a farewell address on the words of Christ: "They will put you out of the synagogues." John xvi. 2. They parted from the people with mutual tears and prayers.

In other places they dared not even part publicly. They were either secretly dismissed, or thrown into prison. Some were only allowed to depart after several days or months, and then banished from the whole kingdom under forfeiture of life; others again, like Bohuslaw Boldwin of Bidschow, perished in prison. Equal severity had not as yet been observed in all places. But in August, 1624,* an imperial edict appeared, by which all and each of the Evangelical clergy, being accused as rebellious and seditious persons, were for ever banished from the whole kingdom. For their preparations they were allowed six weeks' time. But several of the higher authorities were even dishonest enough to keep back the orders for four weeks, so that many only received notice the very day that the time granted was expiring, or even later than that. Thus a general dispersion took place. Many escaped into the neighbouring countries; some concealed themselves in caves and other hiding-places; and even endeavoured to fulfill their duties by venturing forth secretly, for the purpose of visiting the children, or edifying and comforting the members of their former congregations, by exhortations and the administration of the holy sacrament. When the enemies heard of

* At the same time as in Austria, where the chief Evangelical pastor at Linz, Daniel Hizler, was forced to quit the town. See Caroli memorab. eccl. i. 528, 602.

this, another imperial edict was published in July 1625, threatening all those who should conceal a clergyman with punishment, but offering a reward to traitors. The former however remained discretionary, and the latter also was indefinite. The sub-authorities were indeed very capricious, though some dealt severely with their vassals, and even spoke of capital punishment; but the reward they fixed at fifty dollars: thus offering more than what once satisfied their prototype Judas for betraying his Master.

Several Evangelical clergymen were now arrested and imprisoned. The proceeding with them, generally, was this: they were brought before Jesuits and monks, who either by plausible reasons and promises, or by the most terrible menaces urged them to join the Papal church. The result was unequal. Some few, broken down and almost annihilated by the fear of death or lasting imprisonment, and by insupportable hunger and the misery of their dungeons, fell away from the true religion. Others, by the grace of God, indeed most of those whom he had suffered to fall into the hands of the enemy, remained steadfast unto death, or until their liberation, which, wherever God restrained the severity of the enemy, became the lot of some few after a lengthened imprisonment. No one, however, was liberated without signing a bond, wherein he acknowledged that his life should be forfeited if ever he returned to the kingdom. Some, in addition, were sentenced to a considerable fine, and a few were driven forth by the beadle as a mark of disgrace. In 1638, George Eger, minister at Tetschen, was (together with his deacon) taken to

Prague, where he was closely confined for six months, treated with the greatest ignominy, and then compelled to abandon both his office and the country. He was afterwards, in 1641, appointed minister at Crostau in Lusatia.

But the case of Matthäus Ulizky, deacon at Czaslau, was of all others the most severe. His imprisonment arose out of the following circumstances.—In 1627, a Danish army being posted in Silesia, a Bohemian nobleman, named George Tehenitz, attempted to assemble the peasants secretly and join the Danes. He had scarcely, however, collected 400 persons in the Kaurzim forest, when an alarm was raised in Prague, that the peasants had taken up arms and were about to revolt. Some troops being sent to disperse them, they took the above named Ulizky prisoner, in the forest which Tehenitz and his troop had already quitted. Ulizky had been visiting his sick wife (in Czaslau), and was just returning to Kirchleben, his hiding-place. He was taken back to Czaslau, and brought before the assembled authorities, among whom was Michna. On his examination, having denied, as he truly could, that he had taken any part in the revolt of the peasants, the unfortunate man was delivered to the executioner, by whom he was repeatedly tortured, on the 6th and on the 10th of September. He was committed to the deacon and two citizens who had turned Papists. The deacon did not so much inquire concerning the revolt of the peasants, as concerning his clerical functions, and wished to know where, for whom, and when he had administered baptism and the holy communion. For they suspected him of having been

in the neighbourhood during the last three years, and of exciting the peasants to insurrection; and for that suspicion they certainly had some ground; inasmuch as after his banishment, he had wandered about in Moravia, Bohemia, and Austria, for nearly half a year, but returned again, to be near his oppressed and afflicted congregation. They gave him hopes of preserving his life if he would become a Romanist; but God strengthened him to seal with his blood the truth of his doctrine, in the same town where he had formerly proclaimed it. He openly said that he held his office from Christ, and not from the Emperor, and therefore he could neither resign nor discontinue his duties as a minister. One priest asked him whether he had, after the manner of the Calvinists, broken bread instead of the host, and given the cup into the hands of his communicants? "Yes," replied he, "exactly so as Christ ordained it. It was my sacred duty to follow his command and his example." When he was put on the rack, in order to force from him a confession concerning the revolt against the Emperor, and one of the judges, named Kosischnik, exhorted him not to pollute his conscience with the concealment of any crime, he replied:—"Faithless one, I have taken better care of my conscience than thou." These words moved the other deeply, and he soon fell sick and died. They still continued to give Ulizky hope of a pardon if he would only become a Papist. But he answered:—"My perishable body is already very weak; why should I protract its dissolution?" On the 11th of September he was led to execution, and the herald proclaimed rebellion as his crime. "No," cried he,

"I suffer for the truth of Christ." When he was about to be led from the town, a young man offered him a hymn-book; but the captain struck him with a stick, and drove him away. Ulizky, however, sang with his whole heart the words of the Psalmist:—"Make haste, O God, to deliver me, make haste to help me, O Lord." (Ps. lxx. 1.) No citizen was allowed to escort him, or to look out of a window as he passed by, the guards threatening to shoot those who attempted to do so; and drums were beaten, and trumpets sounded, to prevent any one from hearing what he said or sung. When he arrived at the place of execution, he said:—"To-day my soul will be with Christ;" the captain Hlizowsky replied, "With the devil rather, in the bottom of hell!" Ulizky answered:—"O you will hasten thither, if you are not brought to reflection." He then fell on his knees, and commended his soul to Christ. After this the executioner first cut off his right hand, with which he had, as they reproached him, presented the cup to the laity. Then his head was struck off, and his entrails were taken out. Lastly, they quartered his body, and hung the four parts on as many poles. His head, a terrible sight, was placed on a fifth pole not far from the gallows. His enemies spread a report that letters had been found upon him, which shewed, that if he had succeeded in reaching the revolted peasantry, he would have been sent all over the kingdom to excite people to take up arms in defence of the cup, (communion in both forms.) But no one believed this, who had a personal knowledge of the man;—it was a mere fabrication. Ulizky was a quiet, and truly pious minister, who frequently said, "that tears were the

only weapons of the church ;" nor did he at all approve of the conduct of the states, who placed religion under the protection of their arms. His father, 80 years old, also died the death of a martyr, at Prostanna in Moravia.

Having already mentioned Moravia in connection with Bohemia, we will take this opportunity of stating, that there also, in 1624, appeared a prohibitory edict against the Protestant clergy. Commissioners were appointed, who travelled through the country, dismissing the Evangelical clergy, and commanding them to depart the kingdom. A few examples may shew their proceedings. Among others, two of them, Johann Jacob Magno, an Italian, and yet enjoying privileges and considerable estates, and Johann Ernst Plateys, canon of Olmütz, came to the celebrated baron Charles Zierotin. This man was celebrated throughout almost all Europe on account of his wisdom, and exalted virtue ; he had been high bailiff, in the reign of Matthias, for about eight years, and was even in those unpeaceable times immoveably faithful to the house of Austria. Yet the enemies were offended at his constancy in the Evangelical faith,* especially that he tolerated on his estates, twenty-four clergymen belonging to the Brethren.

The commissioners demanded of him obedience to the will of the Emperor. Zierotin maintained that their business could not be with him, inasmuch as he had not revolted with the rest, against the Emperor ; and having never been a rebel, he could not, as a punish-

* Thus it was also said of Hans Dietrich von Zierotin, who was, in 1595, high bailiff in Upper Lusatia, that he had been a zealous Lutheran.

ment, be deprived of any of his rights. The others exhibited a special commission from Cardinal Dietrichstein, the governor of Moravia. But he denied being subject to the jurisdiction of the Cardinal, in affairs of religion, and appealed from him to the Emperor. With reluctance, the commissioners granted him a respite of fourteen days. At the expiration thereof, they returned, and although the Baron had not, through illness, been able to go to court, they insisted on compliance with their demands. They left the Baron, however, the choice, of either sending the clergy away himself, or of leaving their dismissal in the hands of the commissioners. He said, that he could not, considering the clergy as servants of Christ, agree to either proposition, but would appeal to the Emperor. The commissioners insisted upon executing the mandate, and went into the town, where they issued summonses, and sent for the burgomaster, ordering messengers to be in readiness, as soon as it became dark, to cite the clergy in the neighbourhood to attend them early on the following morning. The latter appeared at the time appointed. The commissioners then read to them the Emperor's edict, and demanded if they were disposed to obey? To which the clergy replied: "they entirely depended on the will of God, whom they served in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Should it so please God, they would endure the painful trial of banishment, in the consciousness of suffering not for any misdeed, but for the name of Christ." It was then suggested that they ought rather to reflect on the subject, and return to the Roman Church, which they had heretically forsaken. This they one and all directly refused. The

commissioners then, saying they would allow them time for reconsideration, told them to go, and at a future period return individually with their final answer. But with one accord they repeatedly said, that they were already so decided in this serious matter, that more time for consideration was quite superfluous. Upon this the commissioners in the name of the Emperor declared them as dismissed, and commanded them, on pain of death, to depart the country within a week. This was done: these pious men took up the pilgrim-staff, and the Baron defrayed their expenses to Hungary.

A remarkable document, relating to the persecution of the clergy on Zierotin's domains, is contained in a modern work.* From this we learn that Zierotin went to Vienna, in March 1623, hoping that the remembrance of his faithfulness towards Ferdinand would produce a different treatment of himself and his people; these hopes, however, were not realized, for Ferdinand had formed an irrevocable determination, to tolerate none but the Popish clergy. In vain did Zierotin, at his audience, boldly declare, that his Imperial Majesty "had repeatedly and graciously promised, to reward his approved adherence and faithfulness, and especially to leave him, at all times, and on all occasions, free and unrestricted in the exercise of his religion. But it was well known, that he had, unexpectedly, experienced the reverse of this, in the closing of his churches, and the banishment of his evangelical preachers. How could his Imperial Majesty, maintain his reputation and dignity, or at

* Sötl, *Memoirs of the times of the Religious War in Germany*. Hamburg, 1842, p. 97.

all preserve his dominion, and claim assistance from the country and the people, if the bad and good were treated alike, and if rewards were not given, and promises were not fulfilled, to those who proved themselves faithful in times of distress? By such a proceeding, even the most pious and the most loyal would be incited to rebellion." The Emperor replied, that "he remembered and confessed his promise, to grant him religious liberty; but he could not now observe that promise, inasmuch as his holiness the Pope, by whom he must be guided in matters of conscience, did not consider it proper and advisable." He permitted him, however, to speak on the subject with the Cardinal Dietrichstein. But the only answer he received from him, was, "His Imperial Majesty does not permit any interference in affairs of conscience, and that they must, therefore, abide by the already published decree."

Similar also was the reply of the Cardinal, to two noblemen of Münsterberg, who applied, by deputies, for the restitution of their churches and ministers. The Emperor himself had also promised not to quarter any soldiers on their domains: but the Cardinal assumed that the Emperor was not aware of the state of affairs in Moravia; and dictated the necessity of billeting troops upon them within a fortnight.

The Book of Persecutions gives the following interesting detail of Zierotin's interview with the Emperor:—On his arrival at Vienna, he represented to the imperial counsellors, that the punishment which had been decreed against the disloyal, was also extended to him, who had always remained faithful. But the counsellors, who sanctioned these

proceedings, replied : " that he misunderstood the work of reformation, as if it were carried on merely for the purpose of punishing : it was rather part of that paternal care which engaged the Emperor for the welfare of his realms and provinces, and he was in duty bound, even if no faults had been committed, to provide for the everlasting salvation of his subjects, and for the general peace." The Baron on hearing this, was filled with terror, he saw that the objects hitherto kept secret, were now to be made public, and that they aimed at the restraint of conscience under the cloak of piety. He did not, however, allow the matter to rest, but laid his complaint before the Emperor himself, who answered, that in obeying his conscience he could not act otherwise. The Baron frankly replied, that he also had duties towards God according to his conscience, and entreated his Imperial Majesty not to restrain him therein. The Emperor said, he did not mean to do so ; but as to tolerating the preachers, that he could not do. The Baron replied, he could not dispense with divine service, and for that purpose he required a minister of the Gospel. With this protestation he took his leave of the Emperor. He now not only retained his chaplain, Paul Hronow, publicly, but also secretly supplied the pious Johann Lanetius, who was upwards of 70 years old, and George Erastus, the superintendents of the Brethren in Moravia, and several others, in their caves, with bread and water. He even admitted to the services, which Hronow conducted in his castle of Namesch, not only his own subjects, but also people of all ranks in the neighbourhood, without the least fear of man. In this, he was imitated by George

Sadow baron of Slaupna, and a few others, in Bohemia, until they themselves were also banished from the country."

According to Pelzel, Zierotin was not only a learned man himself, but the patron and protector of all such in Moravia; he had become a member of the Calvinistic church, through the persuasions of the celebrated Theodore Beza. In the time of the Emperor Rudolph II. he joined the party of Matthias; and also distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks. Although not a Romanist, he never proved unfaithful to Ferdinand. On this account he was watched at Brünn, as well by the party of Frederic the Elector Palatine, as by the Cardinal Dietrichstein; as well by Prince Charles Lichtenstein, as by Ladislaw of Lobkowitz. Neither the threats nor the promises of Frederic, could induce him to become faithless to Ferdinand, and he gained the respect of the former by his firmness. Ferdinand's leniency towards the rebellious Moravians, was the effect of Zierotin's intercession. But he was quite as faithful to Protestantism, as he was to Ferdinand; for when he was positively refused permission to keep a chaplain of his own persuasion, he removed to Breslau. At Kralitz he established a printing office for the Moravian Brethren, where the so-called "Brethren's Bible," that excellent work in six volumes, quarto, was printed in 1679; this is now rarely to be met with, having been everywhere seized and burnt by the Jesuits.

When such noblemen as Zierotin, were no longer able to protect the Evangelical clergy, then of course banishment became the lot even of the remaining few. Their successors, with whom the

Emperor expected that his subjects would be well pleased, could by no means replace them.

On this point the "Book of Persecutions" has a very important chapter. "The change of ministers was so much more painful and lamentable to the communities, as it was impossible even tolerably to fill up the numerous vacancies now existing; and the grief of the people thus deprived of their faithful shepherds was, therefore, only felt the more. As there was a want of respectable Roman priests, the churches were often supplied by dissolute and irreligious men, who were in every way disqualified and unworthy; and even such were not appointed in sufficient number. Thus they were obliged to entrust two, three, four, and even ten or twelve churches to the care of a single man. Some parishes had, perhaps for two or three years, no pastor at all; which, however, sometimes proved the least evil of the two. Owing to this want of ministers, they at last procured for the Bohemian communities some Polish monks, whose language was somewhat similar to the Bohemian, but who were idle fellows, useless burdens on the world, and foolish zealots, who persecuted instead of reforming, and could do nothing but make a noise, destroy the communion cups, and burn the Bibles; they were, nevertheless, ingenious enough in resenting the pretended ingratitude of the Protestants! These Poles brought great vices into the country, and rude debaucheries; those especially as were occasioned by their celibacy were of common occurrence. He who had but one concubine was considered the most exemplary."

The author of the above document gives many instances, and proves his assertions by a statement

of the real names. Those who are desirous to know them may consult his works.

These things are not reported by Protestants only; for even the Popish writer Pelzel speaks of them, when stating the events of 1625, in the following terms: "However they had not Roman priests enough to supply the vacant parishes. Numerous and various monks were therefore called in from Poland to convert the people to catholicism.* They preached and taught, indeed, with great zeal; but on the other hand they led a *vicious life*.† Many returned to Poland, having previously either seduced or carried off the daughters or the wives of the citizens." But the bishops then were of the same opinion as a certain Popish bishop of modern times, who, on being reproached for admitting ignorant men into the ministry, replied: "Give me those that are better; as for me, I prefer having my field ploughed by asses, rather than leaving it altogether uncultivated."

George Holyk, one who, from observation, perfectly knew the disorderly life of the monks, is best able to inform us whom the communities received in the place of the forcibly expelled teachers of the pure Gospel, in those days of anti-reformation. We will give a few extracts from his work, to enable the reader the better to understand the scenes of that time.

"Instead of our pious men," says he, "they have given us ungodly, roguish, vexatious, lascivious, adulterous, licentious, drunken, debauched, illiterate,

* i. e. Romanism.

† Numerous examples of crimes committed in the monasteries are given by Holyk, p. 145, 149, 155; particularly horrible are those of the superior monks, 158.

and inexperienced priests." He is ashamed, he continues, to state any thing further of their conduct, but the slanderers of Luther* do not deserve to be spared by silence. He then mentions such things as had come under his own observation, and relates many striking instances of their flagrant conduct at Michowitz, Nemeklau, Cerkwitz, and Klobik, which we will not insert here.

After this he continues : " The most of them were addicted to drunkenness, and scarcely a day passed in which some of those, whom I knew, were not intoxicated." He then treats of abominations in the monastic life, and giving the real names, states numerous cases of crime in the monasteries, especially among the priors of the Dominican order, with which he was best acquainted ; and adds that in orders less strict, it was still much worse at confessions, pilgrimages, &c. We shall make no use of such facts that are also sufficiently known from other sources ; but on the whole we ascribe the guilt and responsibility of such repulsive crimes less to the offenders than to the cruel *authors* of celibacy.

We have mentioned these circumstances only to shew how little Ferdinand II. really promoted the true welfare of his subjects, by the expulsion of the Evangelical clergy, and the appointment of these new priests. Even as late as 1645 there was a want of clergymen ; several towns, for instance, Reichenberg, Benatek, and Lissa, being supplied with knights of the cross and others from the monasteries.

Among the expelled ministers was Samuel Mar-

* The people of the Popish districts still believe that the falsehoods which malice invented concerning the vices of the great Luther were really *true*.

tini of Drazowa, pastor of the Castulus church in the old town, an excellent historian, to whom Pelzel dedicated a particular memoir in his "Biographies of Bohemian Literati," (ii. 15.) His father was minister in Horzowitz, and Senior of the Beraun district. He was appointed, by the directors, assistant to Rosacius, and in 1618 he received the above mentioned clerical appointment, together with the assessorship of the consistory. A great blemish in his character however, is the hatred he expressed against the Picards or Brethren. On his flight, he turned to Altenburg in Saxony; afterwards he went to England; and was eventually raised to the nobility, and appointed preacher at Pirna, where his family have flourished during two centuries.* His grandson was primary pastor of Zittau.

Pelzel, in the work mentioned already, relates of this distinguished man the following occurrence:—"When the Saxons in 1631 had taken possession of Prague, he returned thither once more with many other Protestant clergymen, who had escaped from Bohemia, and was appointed minister of the Tein-church, director of the then Protestant Consistory, and warden of the Prague Academy. When, by order of the Elector of Saxony, the heads of those distinguished men who ten years before had been executed in Prague, were

* See, concerning his family, Schröter's History of the Exiles, 293. His widow lived in great poverty with other exiles in Zittan, until her sons were able to provide for her. On his monument at Pirna he is called "Theologus inter Bohemos excellentissimus, Consistorii Pragensis Lutherani administrator, ecclesiæ cathedralis ad lætam curiam pastor, collegii Carolini magni præpositus." He died at the early age of 41.

taken down from the iron pikes over the gate of the bridge, and buried with great ceremony in the Tein church, Martini delivered an eloquent speech to the people, in which he praised the heroism of those unfortunate men, who, as he said, had sacrificed their lives as martyrs for their religion and their country. The next year, however, an imperial army came to Bohemia, and drove both the Saxon forces and the German clergy a second time out of the country. Martini then went back to Pirna, where he died in 1639."

A great number of citizens followed the expelled ministers with their yet remaining property; and many concealed themselves in the mountains and forests of Bohemia. In hopes of better times, they took with them, wherever it was practicable, the communion cups, and also the church registers; hence it is accounted a rarity, when, as in the town of Gabel, the Evangelical registers of baptisms and burials are yet found. Several have been met with in Saxon towns, (near the mines) and an important copy of the charter* has been preserved in the town of Zittau, either from the papers of the banished minister Fleischmann, or more probably of the former administrator, George Dikastus; as well as a copy of the now extremely rare "Brethren's Hymn-book" of 1539, of which some passages in the communion hymns, that savoured too much of Calvinism, were struck out with an angry hand by Michael Weiss.

"When the venerable clergymen left Prague, (says Holyk) they were escorted by hundreds, yea

* See the first volume of this work, p. 177.

even thousands of their pious hearers, who had already heard of their impending doom, namely, that every one who was unwilling to embrace the Popish religion should take his wandering-staff and depart. When they arrived at the "White mountain" near the Kleinseite of Prague, they all stood still and heard, with tearful eyes, how their beloved ministers, in touching and heart-rending words, bid them adieu as members of their late congregations. Some of these had, in that grievous persecution, voluntarily forsaken their country, whilst others were yet willing to prove whether they could remain at home and continue in their religion with safety, and without hindrance; and had merely come a short distance with their departing friends and acquaintances. These were most diligently exhorted by the ministers to preserve above all things the acknowledged and confessed truth, and not to be led astray, either by compulsory or persuasive means. O! how great was the misery, how bitter the tears that were shed—how fervent the cries towards heaven, when such pious men were compelled in this melancholy manner to quit their beloved country for ever!

"It will easily be imagined what a scene of grief and sorrow was exhibited when the husbands parted from their wives, the fathers from their sons, the mothers from their daughters, the brothers from their sisters, in order to go forth to the wide world! The closer they were allied, the more difficult was their parting. Parents were sending their children into a strange land, without knowing who would take pity upon them.

"Some one will, perhaps, object," continues

Holyk, "that all this was done by the personal violence and arrogated power of the soldiers. But it is evident from the 'powers of attorney,' or 'diplomatibus,' which have been issued at various times, that it was done by given permission and even by command. Thus it is contained and stated in the edict, issued in the year 1624, that all and every one of the Evangelical preachers, should for ever be banished from the whole realm, because they were mutineers and misleaders of the common people; and that no one of them should, without incurring capital punishment, remain therein after the expiration of six weeks.

"In short, the shepherds were smitten, and the sheep were scattered. I will now state how they treat the servants of the Gospel, if any are yet found concealed in Bohemia; and how they proceed with the priests and the clergy of that country, if they are detected in favouring Protestantism, or even if they are only suspected of doing so. Concerning the first, I must confess, that I have seen many old men in Bohemia, and have also been with others in several places, especially in forests at night, when they taught and preached to the people; but never has either the minister, or any one of us been seized in the fact. But while attending the school of the Jesuits in Prague, I heard that two Evangelical preachers, who had celebrated the communion in the forests, had been brought to Prague, and there imprisoned in the hall of the new town. One of these two delivered a recantation sermon, and was obliged to beat his mouth, and confess that every thing that he had taught, and whereby he had misled the people, was false. But I have not

heard what was finally done with him and his companion. It is, however, very probable, that they did not escape a terrible and ignominious death. But how they proceed with their own, (*i. e.* members of the order, if suspected of leaning to the Evangelical church), when they are detected, that I have witnessed with my own eyes. They do not decapitate or burn them, but proceed more leniently; keeping them imprisoned in an artful and cunning manner, some until their death, but others only for a short time, or until they are again deluded by deceit, and by flattering and enticing words. All this is done that their order may not be degraded and despised, nor be ridiculed by others if they should have to burn a frater (or brother) of their order, as an apostate. Besides this, they would incur the hatred of the common people by their violence, and the parents of the victims might not leave them the property to which the son, and their church through him, would have a claim. But although they do not kill such as are suspected of Lutheranism, but proceed with them, as they say, mercifully, they still exercise the most terrible cruelties in their punishments."

We shall here insert an account of the expulsion of the Protestant clergymen from the domains of Wallenstein. The chief among them was the Superintendent Günther:—He had been minister of Möglen near Annaberg, and in 1615, through the recommendation of the Saxon chief consistory, was appointed by the Baron Christopher Rädern superintendent of his domains of Friedland, Reichenberg, and Seidenberg; the two former towns being then also of the evangelical church. He was

very active in his duties, and as was then too customary, much opposed to the Calvinists. He held annually two synods with the subordinate clergy, to which those of Zittau were also invited. Previous to these assemblies, he published Latin synodal dissertations, and then conversed with the clergy about the affairs of the church. When danger was approaching, they were of opinion, that as the Lutherans had enjoyed the protection of the letters-patent from 1609, the persecution and expulsion would be extended to the Calvinists only, and that they themselves who had lived on the border, and been Lutherans for 90 years, had nothing to fear. But these hopes were vain, even Günther was to depart.

“On the 12th of August 1623, Kotwa of Freyfeld, chaplain to Wallenstein, Prince of Friedland,* arrived at Friedland as the commissioner in spiritual affairs. He inquired into the amount of the income of all the clergy in the above-mentioned domains, and inspected the churches and parsonages. After this, on the 25th of August, an arrest was placed on all the produce of the field, and the corn that was gathered in, as well as on the tithes. On the 20th of September, the parishioners were prohibited from accommodating their ministers with their waggons. The latter, being desirous of using some of their property, applied on the 30th of October, for the remission of the arrest, but they could obtain no satisfaction. About this time the wealthy, first of the country and afterwards of the town, were desired to place in the school of the Jesuits, at

* Who had purchased from the Emperor the domains taken from the family of Rädern, after the victory over Frederic the Palatine. Wallenstein was there personally only in 1627.

Gitschin, (where Wallenstein, as ruler, frequently resided) a certain number of boys who had some capacity for study;* to which those in the country at last consented, against the repeated warnings of their ministers, but the town of Friedland steadfastly refused. "I have, on that account, (says Günther,) been shamefully betrayed to the cruel enemies of our religion, and accused as the sole instigator of this refusal; and this drew upon me their menaces. In 1624, a complete change took place; for on the 4th of May, two orders, one from Kotwa in Prague, and the other from the Regent of the Jesuitical school at Gitschin, were received at the castle of Friedland; the purport of both was that the Governor of Friedland, was ordered, immediately to '*dismiss*,' all the foreign clergymen residing in this and the other domains, and to command them to move hence on the 6th of May, that they might avoid greater punishment, should they be found in their parishes by the new priests: for Kotwa was already on his way to Gitschin, with a few thorough Popish priests, to instal them on the domains of his Highness. This was the earnest wish of the Prince, and the Governor was well aware, that he must comply with every thing which the canon might order in such cases. Accordingly we were summoned into the office of the castle on the appointed 6th of May, and in the presence of some noblemen both the documents were read to us, and we were also told by the Governor himself the object of this command. After having,

* They wished thereby to remedy the want of Romanist Theologians, and chose the most precocious for the order of the Jesuits.

by permission, retired to deliberate, I returned, in behalf of the whole fraternity or priesthood, this answer: 'First of all, we are grieved and pained to be removed from our dear parishioners, and to see their souls exposed to the greatest danger; but we console ourselves with a good conscience and a good cause, since the only reason given for our dismissal is that we are not, in their opinion, worthy and proper Catholic* priests; but as we have preached Christ, so we think ourselves bound to suffer with him, and trust that God will soon bring Satan under our feet. Secondly, we would ask the Governor if he really means to enforce against us the 'dismissal' ordered in the two documents? Thirdly, we request him to intercede for us with His Highness, or to prevail upon the inhabitants of the country that they should do so; and if his Excellency will not regard us, to consider at least the welfare and salvation of so many thousand people!' In reply to this the Governor gave us to understand, that in the whole course of his life he had felt nothing more difficult than to be obliged by his official duties to acquaint us with the given order; and although he were inclined to intercede for us, or to induce the inhabitants to do so, he was, nevertheless, an officer of His Highness, and was obliged, however unwillingly, to do as he was commanded. Such intercession from him might also be considered as rebellion; but if the country should intercede, he would make no objection. Upon this I replied: That as the Governor is enforcing our dismissal, according to the received orders, and refuses us individual responsibility and risk, as well

* i. e. Roman.

as his intercession, he will, of course, receive an answer from every one of the clergy present ; but the answer to my dismissal is : “ Since I am closely connected with my parish by my office, I cannot, unless violent means be used, resign the same, without previously consulting the opinions of my parishioners. For I think myself in duty bound, to risk both property and life, in this persecution which concerns not myself only, but also the flock entrusted to me, as long as they shall use proper and lawful means, without any tumult, to which I would by no means advise them.” This at once satisfied my colleagues and the Governor. Then the clergymen further requested the Governor, that, if they were eventually *compelled* to go away, he would assist them in obtaining a compensation for their standing corn, and in receiving the tithes already due. But the Governor said, it was out of his power, and he feared that it would be scarcely practicable. After this I immediately sent for the elders of the congregation, in and out of the town ; told them what had passed in the castle, that I was ordered to quit that very day, and also that I had referred to my parishioners. They were, therefore, speedily to inform the council and the parish of this occurrence, and my proposition, that I might know what to expect from them. I also went myself to the village of Ringenhayn, which belonged to the parish, and gave similar information to the authorities there. After a meeting of the council and the whole parish, they sent me a vote of thanks for my proposal in their behalf, and a requisition to be their director ; they declared themselves determined to use all proper and possible means whereby they might hope to

obtain any thing from his Highness ; and that they themselves, with the inhabitants of the whole domain, would speedily get up a petition, and despatch the messenger that very day. I then again said : “ that trusting they would fulfil their promise, I would, for my own part, shun no danger, but exercise my duties as heretofore.” Accordingly I joined a couple that day in holy wedlock, and on the following Friday, the 10th of May, delivered the usual Lent sermon. Having heard that the petition had not been signed, and that they would do nothing in the affair, I directed my sermon chiefly on the “ dismissal and discharge” of the Evangelical-Lutheran ministers in the domain. As the issue of this was, however, yet doubtful, I selected and explained the passages in Exodus xxxii. 1—7 ; xxxiv. 4—10.

“ On that day a great number of people came to the Lord’s table, and on the Sunday following the communion service lasted from four till nine o’clock in the morning. On Monday the 13th of May, I read the prayers and the lessons. And as certain information had reached us, that on *this* day, a Roman Catholic priest would arrive, accompanied by a considerable force (namely, fifty of Wallenstein’s musketeers), and be installed by Kotwa, the canon of Prague, I bade my hearers *farewell* in the church, and reminded them, that although they had offered to adopt all possible means, and even proposed two, they had made use of none, whilst I had run the risk of acting in opposition to the received order, and was still willing to await the issue.

“ This very afternoon Kotwa arrived at Friedland, with a few Catholic priests, and fifty musketeers ; and the churchwardens, burgomasters and

judges, being then summoned to the castle, they there received certain instructions, with which they were obliged to comply.

“ On the following day, May the 14th, the different church bells were ordered to be rung, while the burgomasters and judges were forced to conduct their new minister from the castle in a solemn procession, with pomp and pride, into the parish church of Friedland, attended by two commissioners. The churchwardens were compelled to open the church, which was consecrated according to papal custom ; then followed the investing of the priest with the usual popish ceremonies, a sermon, and the mass. After this the priest was conducted to the parsonage, and introduced to the town-council, who had to insure him protection, honour and support ; and from thence they returned to the castle. In the mean time, a royal mandate arrived, in which the reason for our dismissal was stated to be, that we* had misled the people by auspicious sermons, had incited them to disobey the higher authorities, and had given occasion to their revolt.† It was further stated, that Kotwa had lodged a complaint against me; that I was a great enemy to the Romanists, that I had dissuaded the people from placing their children in the school of the Jesuits at Gitschin, and that my sermons were all before his Highness. I protested against the first-mentioned accusation, and refused to go until I should receive

* Not these only, but all evangelical preachers were meant thereby.

† Inasmuch as they warned the members of their community against a change of creed, which had been commanded by the Emperor.

a written dismissal, setting forth the true cause thereof. Thrice, therefore, I sent to the castle, offering to make my defence, and at last received a written dismissal, the cause of which was stated to be, that I had not submitted to, nor acted in accordance with, the jurisdiction and ceremonies enjoined by the archbishop of Prague;—but I was not brought to a trial. The clergymen present went that afternoon to Reichenberg, but I still remained in Friedland with a citizen throughout the day and the following night. As my church and my house were taken from me, and another appointed in my place, and as the last mandate, moreover, was peremptory for the dismissal without delay of all the Lutheran preachers, who were not to be tolerated, nor suffered to dwell there in any manner whatever, and still less to be allowed any religious exercise or meeting, on Wednesday morning, the 15th May, I once more took a public leave of all my hearers, offering even then, in the presence of the town council, to remain with them, if they would but adopt some proper measures.* But as their answer was, that they must leave this matter in the hands of God, I said: “the will of the Lord be done; with your knowledge, and not secretly, do I part from you in grief.” This occasioned much weeping, and I went out of the town on foot, escorted by the town council, the citizens and a great number of people from the country, amounting to upwards of 2000, who were waiting that morning for my departure, and who accompanied me with great lamentations a

* Many persons did not yet comprehend either the decisive character of the Government authority, or the fruitlessness of all individual remonstrance.

quarter of a mile to the Cunnersdorf Rise, where I stopped, and waiting until all were assembled, and had formed themselves into a circle, I delivered to this great crowd a *farewell sermon*, choosing for my subject the departure of the Apostle Paul from the Elders of Ephesus. (Acts xx.) After this discourse they all wept and moaned bitterly, fell on my neck, seized my hands, and pressed me so closely, that I was obliged to mount the vehicle that followed me. About a hundred of the people accompanied me a mile further towards Reichenau, and about fifty went with me as far as the town of Zittau. The rest of my hearers, after spending a short time in hymns and prayers, on the place I had just left, returned home in great grief, and some of them afterwards planted a lime-tree (linden) in the place where I stood,* as a memorial of this my farewell sermon. The town-council supplied me with an honourable testimonial; this was also done of their own accord, by the liveries, and by my then colleagues and subordinates, but now my fellow-exiles. Thus I have had an honest, honourable dismissal before God and his church; nor have I been a little consoled by the zeal, devotion, love, and tears of my dear parishioners. May God by his divine power keep them stedfast in the acknowledgment of his truth; may He comfort and strengthen them, and preserve them in the way of righteousness until the coming of our Lord, that they may then prove to be my honour and joy, my crown and my glory."

The above-mentioned three testimonials, and the one which the Governor of Friedland, Hans

* The Friedland "Pfarrlinde," 100 years after, was destroyed by the Papists.

Gersdorf, himself a Lutheran, had given him, sufficiently prove that he had conducted himself in his pastoral duties, and in his office of superintendent, as a faithful minister; that his doctrines and his life were at all times in accordance with the holy scripture, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and that for this reason only he had been driven into exile.*

The newly appointed popish dean, Sebastian Balthasar, was placed in a difficult position. He met with little confidence; for the people of Friedland had either left the place, or else attended the adjacent Lutheran churches of Lusatia. He therefore published a pamphlet in 1628, against Günther's Lent-sermon, "on the dismissal and discharge of the Evangelical preachers in the domain of Friedland." In this he says, amongst other things, that in the whole kingdom of Bohemia, there were not such obstinate Lutherans to be found as in Friedland; they paid such attention to the exhortations of their preachers, that scarcely the tenth part of them came to attend to his sermons. He then gives twenty reasons why the people of Friedland should become papists.

Günther remained two years at Zittau, and was then called to Spandau as pastor and inspector. In

* The testimonial of the town-council of Friedland and the eleven liveries, into which the inhabitants of the place are generally divided, is given in an appendix to his Farewell-sermon; but the one signed by the collective clergy of Zittau, which certainly contains some bitter reproaches against the Romanists, is inserted in Schröter's History of the Exiles, 223—234. The Farewell-sermon which he delivered in the open field, and the history of his expulsion, were published at Dresden in 1626.

1631 he resigned his office, and was afterwards appointed minister of Herwigsdorf, near Zittau, where he again suffered great distress during the march of the Imperialists and the Swedish troops in 1634. He died on the 16th of January, 1636, only fifty years old, and was interred in the church of Herwigsdorf, near the altar.* His son Anton died in 1684, as con-rector of the Gymnasium at Zittau, where his portrait is preserved in the library of the town-council.

In this account of Günther's expulsion, we see the manner in which the people were treated; but we shall obtain a much clearer view of that part of the subject by turning to the representation of the affair by the Romish writers. One of them,† referring to the appointment of Günther as superintendent of Friedland, says, "Souls were then more and more led astray, and plunged deeper into error, in proportion as such false teachers were increased."

"In affairs of religion," he continues, "Count Wallenstein, Prince of Friedland and Reichenberg, caused the Lutheran preachers in both these domains great grief, because they were aware of his zeal for the Catholic religion, and his predilection for the Jesuits. Therefore the superintendent Günther was in the habit of warning his flock, not to say, 'we are in the mountains, we live on the border; they only mean the Calvinists, and not the Lutherans; we have always been separate, whilst in Bohemia they are mixed; it will not fare so ill with

* The poet Ernest Wilkomm, made Günther the subject of an historical romance.

† Rohn, in his "Chronicle of Friedland and Reichenberg," (Prague, 1763), pp. 138, 151—167.

us; it is only an imaginary fear and a vain anxiety, nothing will happen. Do not console yourselves thus with falsehoods!'—He had foreseen, that after the victory of the Catholics, the heretics would no longer be tolerated, but be treated as rebels and misleaders of the people, like those of Prague, who were, through the perseverance of the papal ambassador, Caroli Caraffa, Bishop of Aversa, punished by the Emperor in 1621. Nor was it long ere it came to pass; for in 1623 the *godly* Regent, Prince Wallenstein, sent the Jesuits from Gitschin thither, in order to preach there the Catholic faith, to extirpate heresy, and to bring the people again under obedience to the Roman church. The province round Reichenberg, and other domains, were soon found willing, though by the advice of the above-mentioned superintendent, the inhabitants of Friedland kept their children a whole year from the Jesuits. Günther boasts of this in his sermon, (the above-cited Lent-sermon), but acknowledges, nevertheless, that the people of these and other places had so easily embraced the Roman doctrines, that he could not, without great danger, preach any longer against them, since so many had already gone over to the papal church. At last, in the year 1624, his Highness the Prince of Friedland and Reichenberg gave his spiritual commissioner, the Prelate Joanni Tiburtio Kotwa of Freyenfeld, full power and authority, to dismiss, on the 6th of May following, all the evangelical Lutheran preachers in the whole domain. This praiseworthy commission was soon executed, the Governor of Friedland, on the 4th of May, being commanded to order the superintendent and all the Lutheran preachers, in the do-

mains of Friedland and Reichenberg, immediately to quit their parishes, or incur the severest punishment. This command he announced to them on Monday, the 6th of May, in the castle of Friedland; and as he was himself a Lutheran, it must have been an unpleasant task for him."

This Popish writer then cites a few passages from Günther's Lent sermon. The latter had wished to convince the people, that they ought not to say their troubles were undeserved; for they were wicked enough:—and he especially mentioned their neglect of God's word, rude indecencies, too great security, discord between subordinates and their superiors, and the sudden apostacy of some people to Romanism and Calvinism. Of this the other takes advantage, and says: "these then are the fruits, which Lutheran religious liberty, or rather wantonness, has concocted; this is the fame which Lutheran conduct has left in Bohemia; and the unexpected and sudden apostacy from the received Lutheran doctrines shews, that many returned to the only saving Catholic faith without much hesitation."

"On the 12th of May, a priest named Sebastian Balthasar, of Waldhausen, canon of Budissin, was solemnly installed at Friedland, and the church, consecrated with Roman Catholic ceremonies, together with the deanery, were presented to the true priest. Thus Günther, together with his subordinate clergy in the country, was at last obliged to depart from Friedland."

Rohn also states that "the inhabitants of Friedland, who lived ninety years in the error of Lutheran doctrines (to which they were so attached, that at

first only a tenth part of them would come to Balthasar's sermons), are now fully brought to the true faith ; this blessed general reformation is, next to God, owing to the Prince of Friedland, who, though formerly Evangelical, has been a zealous defender of the Catholic faith, and his name alone was enough to terrify the people."

Similar proceedings were instituted against the Protestants of Ullersdorf, a village on the borders of Bohemia, near Zittau, where the Evangelical religion had been established for above 100 years, but the church of which is said to stand on Bohemian ground. Here lived at that time the preacher Zacharias Keimann, father of the learned rector and poet, Christian Keimann of Zittau, where his poetic laurel-wreath is still preserved. This preacher had already been banished from the villages of Pankraz and Schönbach. The Bohemian part of Ullersdorf belongs to the domain of Grafenstein. On the 13th of March, 1628, the commissioners of the counter-reformation arrived at the castle of that place, and Keimann received a summons from Dr. Teubner, the chief commissioner, to appear before them on the following day. Keimann, however, refused compliance, chiefly because Ullersdorf, as part of Lusatia, had been pledged with the rest of the province to Saxony, and the commission had only jurisdiction in the Bunzlau district of Bohemia. Teubner, therefore, wrote for answer :— " I know not why you have disobediently stayed away. You are hereby cited finally and peremptorily to appear before me to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, in order that you may hear the gracious commands of his Highness." Keimann now

appeared, and was treated with more courtesy than was usual on such occasions; yet he was commanded to discontinue preaching until further orders, with permission, however, to remain for the present at Ullersdorf. But a Jesuit, who was present, warningly added, "The affair is not thus ended; it is merely postponed." Keimann obeyed for a while, and the parishioners tried what they could effect by entreaties; but this only made the commissioners the bolder. The community then petitioned Count Kolawrat, chairman of the anti-reformation-commission, for permission to celebrate the festival of Easter after the custom of the church. But they received for answer:—"Like Bohemia and Silesia, so also will Lusatia be forced to acknowledge the Papal faith." They had, therefore, the alternative of attending the Romanist service in the castle-chapel of Grafenstein, or of going to Zittau. It is true that Keimann preached in a private house, but he could not venture to remain in the place: and a Popish priest was appointed in his stead, who fixed his residence at Grottau. The village of Ullersdorf has, however, been favoured with Evangelical preachers from the year 1659.

CHAPTER III.

EXPULSION OF PROTESTANT SCHOOLMASTERS AND TUTORS—SURRENDER OF THE CAROLINE COLLEGE TO THE JESUITS—JOY OF THE ROMANISTS—PROCEEDINGS OF THE JESUITS—DESTRUCTION OF PROTESTANT BOOKS.

WHEN the Protestant clergy were expelled from Prague, the Consistory, which had long been a thorn in the eyes of their enemies, was also dissolved. As soon as the expulsion of the preachers was effected, the iron hand of persecution was laid upon the Schoolmasters. Whether these were as steadfast in their faith as the clergy, or many remained and began to teach the new catechism of Canisius, we have no authentic information.

But the ruling party could now no longer tolerate even Protestant private teachers; a special order was therefore issued for their banishment from the country, unless they were immediately discharged; and those parents who should employ them were threatened with imprisonment and fine. This was diligently circulated amongst all barons, noblemen, and citizens. The parents were, of course, referred to Jesuitical private teachers for their children; and that these might be found in requisite numbers, the Jesuits, wherever they could, took even by force, talented boys, and had them prepared for tutors; which was also done, as has already been stated, at Friedland, where certain boys were

placed in the Jesuits' institution at Gitschin. That their order produced some clever teachers cannot be denied; their merits in this respect are not misunderstood, even by Protestants.

As they were unwilling to allow Protestants any longer to continue in the capacity of teachers, the persecution at last reached the Professors of the Caroline University, nor was it confined to those of theology merely. Hitherto the University had been in the hands of the Evangelicals. But on the 15th of March, 1621, thirteen articles of declaration were submitted to them by the chief commissioner. Nicholas Troilus spoke in their behalf, but he was immediately imprisoned. Two professors, the mathematician Basilius of Deutschenberg, and John Campanus, professor of the Greek language and poetry,* apostatized to the Romish church. Every patriot had reason to lament the immense and irreparable chasms which the expulsion of the most learned among them thus occasioned, for they were men who had been the ornament of Bohemia. It is true, that in holding out threats of punishment, the dominant party may not have contemplated their flight, but rather their conversion to the Papal church, this, however, is very unlikely. Pelzel represents the affair thus:—

“The Caroline University was snatched from the hands of the Protestants. Adam of Wallenstein, by the authority of Prince Lichtenstein, issued a command on the 30th April, 1622, that all non-catholic Professors should quit the University. A few days after the royal commissioners arrived: they sealed the archives and other papers of the

* See Book of Persecutions, 414.

College, dismissed the Professors from their offices, and gave the building into the charge of John Campanus and John Basilius of Deutschenberg, who had in the mean time become Romanists; and then the whole College, with all its estates, rights and privileges, was surrendered to the Jesuits of St. Clemens. Thus all the Professors' chairs in the Caroline remained vacant for the time being, and the old University, founded by the Emperor Charles IV. was, as it were, abolished."

Whilst one of the above-named Professors remained in the University, the other was appointed secretary to the Bohemian court-chancery, and counsellor to the Court of Appeals. He was a native of Leippa, and a learned man, also a citizen and proprietor of a brewery on the Kleinseite. He died in 1628.

Most of them, adds Pelzel, resolved rather to forsake their appointments and native country than their religion. It must also be remarked, that every one who held an office in the University, especially every Professor, had formerly been subjected to the law of celibacy, which was abrogated in the time of the Protestants. But that law is no longer in force in Bohemia, except where the Professors happen to be members of some order, as is the case in Pilsen, Prague and Jungbunzlau.

Great was the rejoicing of the enemy over the destruction of this Protestant University. What opinion the Romanist clergy had formed of a College that permitted liberty of thought, may easily be seen from the panegyric which the Bishop of Valencia pronounced on the King of France in 1685, under similar circumstances. There it is said: "Of all the great deeds and actions which your

Majesty has performed from zeal for the true religion, the most useful and most important beyond all doubt, is the devastation of those colleges which were built without your Majesty's authority, and where the young students were instructed in error; the destruction of those seminaries, whence so many false preachers have issued to spread their noxious doctrines over France and the whole of Europe; and the demolition of those churches which have proved so injurious and fatal to the state, and so pernicious and deadly to the Christian church in general. These will remain for posterity as the most christian memorials and monuments of your Majesty's piety and godliness." Such, doubtless, were also the thoughts of Clesel, Caraffa, Lamormain, and Ferdinand himself.

They would not even allow the beautiful educational institution at Sobieslaw, in the Bechin district, to remain unimpaired. The affluent Prince Peter Wok of Rosenberg, who died in 1611, had here, after having obtained the king's letters-patent, founded a "Gymnasium illustre," which soon assumed a flourishing appearance under the rector Michael Gehler of Görlitz, who arranged it on the model of the Lusatian Gymnasium, and afterwards called it "Gymnasium Rosarum." It had from forty to fifty free pupils, and many young noblemen and others from Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria. Gehler died in 1619, and was spared the pain of witnessing its destruction. On the results of those measures, even the Romanist author Pelzel thus writes:—"As high as the Bohemians had risen in the arts and sciences, under Maximilian and Rudolph II., just so low they were now sinking. I do not know a single example of a learned man,

who distinguished himself in Bohemia by any marks of erudition, after the expulsion of the Protestants. The Caroline University was in the hands of the Jesuits, or, as it were, destroyed. By command of the Pope all promotions were suspended ; so that no one could receive any academical honours during that period. A few patriots, laymen as well as clergymen, murmured publicly, but in vain ; others, again, mourned in silence over the fall of literature. Most of the schools were managed by Jesuits and monks, where little more than bad Latin was taught. It cannot be denied, that there were men amongst the Jesuits who possessed considerable talents and knowledge ; but their principle was, as it ever has been, and continues to be, wherever they are tolerated, that the people to be governed must not be enlightened, but be kept in ignorance. Accordingly, they gave their pupils only the outward shell of knowledge, and kept the kernel for themselves, that they alone might monopolise learning, and outshine and excel in erudition, not only the laity, but also every order of monks. They attained their purposes completely. To keep the people still more in darkness, they afterwards travelled from town to town as missionaries, and wrested their books from them ; to which they were obliged to submit, in order to avoid the punishment of a mortal sin, or everlasting damnation. These books, after having been examined by the Jesuits, were, with few exceptions, detained or destroyed. A Bohemian book and a scarce book have from that time become quite synonymous. They also endeavoured thereby to efface all remembrance of the former erudition, and the former freedom of Bohemia. For the same reason they moreover made their

pupils believe, that before *their* arrival in Bohemia, there had been nothing but extreme ignorance in the land ; and carefully concealed from the people the works of our forefathers, and even their names. That which was afterwards collected and preserved of the ancient literature of Bohemia by the patriotic Balbin, was not suffered to be made known through the press until after the order had been dissolved, and great care was taken not to entrust any one with the manuscript."

The destruction of religious books was, in fact, the third principal measure, which, next to the seizure of the churches, and the expulsion of the clergy and teachers in general, was considered requisite, and this was executed with the greatest zeal, in order to effect the extirpation of Protestantism. There is no want of detailed information concerning the book-executions* which then took place, especially the burning of German and Bohemian Bibles, which were searched out with great diligence, and maliciously thrown into the fire, whilst the most immoral works, such as *Amadis*, *Melusina*, the *Decameron*, &c. were suffered to remain in the hands of the people.

Even before a systematic suppression of Protestantism was undertaken by the commission of the anti-reformation, such destruction of books had been occasionally performed by the soldiery. Pelzel, when speaking of the conquest of Prague by the

* The burning of Luther's works in Vienna had been ordered by Ferdinand I. ; and as early as 1528 all printers and publishers of sectarian books, in Austria, were threatened with drowning as corruptors of the country.

imperial forces in 1620, makes the following remark :—

“The Spanish and Low Country soldiers searched all the libraries of the citizens, to which they were no doubt urged by the dominant clergy, selected all the Bohemian books, carried them in heaps to the public places, and burned several thousands, without any one examining whether they deserved to be consumed by the flames or not. In this tumult the whole edition of Dalimil’s Chronicle, which had just issued from the press, was destroyed, excepting only three copies.”

Of the rules prescribed by the Popish church on this subject, we shall extract the following from the work, “*Synodus archidiœcesana Pragensis, habita a Dom. Sbigneo Berka, Archiepiscopo Pragensi, 1605*” :—“Every one knows, that the reading and use of dangerous and false books is a creeping pestilence to the souls so dearly purchased with the precious blood of Christ. To remedy such an evil, and to preserve the purity of the catholic faith and doctrine, several Popes of Rome have made a distinction between approved and orthodox, and noxious and apocryphal books, in opposition to the enemies of our faith, in order that incautious and simple people may not be deceived by their delusions and snares. But that the people may the easier know which books and writings are to meet with disapprobation, either as suspected of heresy, or as useless to piety and virtue, or as requiring at least some alterations; a register thereof has been formed and published, together with a special law, by Pope Pius IV., which was afterwards increased

by command of Clement VIII. We now will and command, that this register, with some additional rules, adapted for our capital and arch-diocese, shall be printed, and observed by every one, and at all times. That the priests, confessors, preachers, schoolmasters, printers, and booksellers of every description, may the better know what they have to do in such an important matter, they are to keep a copy of the above-named register and act, and in their respective official capacities, cause others to act in accordance with the rules therein contained. And since all other books, which contain false, heretical, erroneous, scandalous, immoral and irreligious doctrines will also be prohibited by the holy apostolical chair, after the publication of the aforesaid register, we further command, that all such books shall be added to the Roman list, for the better information of all, and that the rules prescribed concerning the other prohibited books shall moreover be observed in reference to the use and reading of these. Whoever reads or retains heretical books or any other writings that are condemned and prohibited, on account of heresy or suspected false doctrines, without having a permission from the holy apostolical chair, subjects himself to immediate excommunication, besides other punishments, as appointed by the apostolical constitutions and the canonical laws. But he who reads and retains the books which are prohibited by the church from other motives, is guilty of a mortal sin, and can neither be absolved by a secular, nor by a monastic priest, until he has either delivered unto us the books or a list thereof. Whoever has any heretical or other prohibited writings, shall bring or

send them, within the next month, to us or our official; otherwise he shall incur those punishments and censures which are appointed for such acts of disobedience. No books or writings whatever shall be printed, unless they are previously examined by us or our official, and are provided with our approving signature. Of the books which are to be printed, the author must immediately send us a copy with his signature, to be preserved in the archives of the archbishopric. No one shall publish any works, books, commentaries, or whatever they may be called, unless they have previously been examined by us, and bear our imprimatur. No bookseller or hawker shall offer books for sale, without having first submitted them, or a list thereof, to us or our official, and received our written approbation. But they shall not attempt to sell such books as are not contained in the list of the permitted, nor in any manner give or entrust them to any one else.

“If a priest shall hear that books are sold or carried about in his community, he shall immediately investigate the matter; and if he find that the venders do not possess a list with our signature, or are selling books not named therein, he shall prevent the sale and further distribution, and send us the titles thereof. Also, all publicans and inn-keepers shall give us immediate information of those who come to their houses for the purpose of disputing on religious subjects, or of selling and distributing heretical books.”

The following instruction is also given to the father confessors:—

“Those who have retained, read, printed, or

caused to be printed, any heretical, or otherwise prohibited books and works, are in no wise to be absolved in their confessions, unless they first submit or bring unto us the books and works in question. But those who have read, retained, printed, or in any way promoted the books of the heretics, which contain heresies, or even such as only treat of religion, whether in public or in private, without a permission from the apostolic chair, have thereby incurred the papal excommunication."

After the victory of the Romanists, it must therefore have been a chief object to wrest the so-called "heretical books" from the people, and even totally to destroy them. For these books strengthened the Protestants in their convictions, and occasioned them to reflect on matters of religion. The priests objected to have the Bible read in the native tongue, because the others always defended themselves with passages from Scripture. But the more the Bibles were prohibited and taken away, the greater became the desire to study them. Hence it is that those Protestants had so great a knowledge of the Bible; the clergymen particularly were wonderfully conversant with the sacred writings. It was therefore, of course, considered a solemn duty to destroy these books, whereof the Protestants had a large number, which they highly valued; and to commit them to the flames, was not only the easiest way of destroying them, but was also a spectacle that excited attention. Several descriptions of such scenes have been left upon record.

The "Book of Persecutions" contains the following information:—"How they have raged against the books, is perhaps already known from report.

Thousands of Bibles, not to mention other books, have been burned by these tyrants, that they might not do less than Antiochus once did, as we read in 1 Macc. i. 59. The general punishment for almost all books, was the fire; and as far as we know, the example of the Count of Nachod, who had formerly been a Protestant, and after his apostasy caused his religious books to be buried in his presence, stands alone. The manner of burning the books was various. Some committed them to the flames at home in private (like Jehoiakim, Jer. xxxvi. 23); others, as in Fulnek, brought baskets full to the market-place and burned them there; and in Saaz, Trautenau, and elsewhere, they collected for that purpose cart-loads of books without the city walls. In other places, again, as in Königgrätz, they were brought to the place of execution, or under the gallows, there piled up, and then destroyed by fire. But beware, lest the dispersed innocent ashes of these inanimate martyrs do not promulgate still more widely the doctrine, which you wish to extinguish!"

"At Saaz, the books which had been previously collected in the town and neighbourhood, having been condemned to the fire by the commissioners in 1630, were piled up on a rising ground outside the town, near the aqueduct, and there destroyed. When all others were consumed, a Bible (Simon Swobada's) that was only singed on the edges, and a Hymn-book of the old edition, remained; they were preserved as memorials, and afterwards taken by the exiles of Saaz to Freiburg."

Such burning of books was nothing new in Bohemia, for even in the beginning of the 15th century, we are informed, that "the monks, having

been forsaken by the king and the academy, incited the archbishop Sbinko of Hasenburg, a man who could scarcely read, and prevailed with him to condemn the works of Wicklif, which were burned on the 16th of July, 1410. According to *Æneas Sylvius*, above 200 volumes, most beautifully written and elegantly bound, were then thrown into the flames. We also have some Bohemian verses (written by a husbandman), in which that illiterate censor is bitterly blamed. At that time Huss wrote an essay on the reading of heretical books, and delivered an address in defence of Wicklif's work on the holy Trinity, which was also burnt with the rest."

Holyk, in his work so frequently alluded to, also relates these facts, and as an eye-witness, touches upon ¹circumstances not yet given, which we will therefore insert here:—

"When the commissioners and their suite, the Jesuits, had arrived, they called the people together by the tolling of the bells; when all were assembled, they explained to them the cause of their visit, and exhorted them, in kind, sweet, and gentle words, to bring them all the books they had. Some, who were timid, and feared to be betrayed and punished, brought whatever books they possessed. But others did not bring them all; though this was of little avail. For the whole of the books thus brought together were immediately carried, by people in waiting, to the market-place, and thrown into a large fire already prepared for the purpose, with sentinels around it, that none of them might be snatched from the flames. In the mean time they went from house to house,

and searched throughout the cellars, lumber-rooms, and corners.* All the chests and trunks had to be opened, and the books found were forcibly taken away. They who had concealed them were immediately imprisoned, and afterwards were not only fined, but suffered corporal punishment, and a lengthened confinement, according to the caprice of the commissioners. When they had collected a large pile of volumes together, amongst which were several hundreds of handsomely bound Bohemian Bibles, they kindled a great fire and burned them, accompanying the deed by many blasphemous words. One of them said :—" Look, look, how beautifully they burn, those heretical books with their false doctrines ! Now this is only done to the books ; but should any one be obstinate enough after this to refuse coming back to the true Roman faith, then shall he be burned in the same manner !"

" Alas ! I cannot tell how many beautiful volumes, brought in barrels and boxes, have been destroyed by fire, not only in my own native place, but in every town and village throughout the kingdom.

" This destruction of books was begun before I was born, as I have read in a manuscript, which states that they were sought after with such madness, that the people were all terrified at the violence and rage of those who were engaged in the search. In small places, where they could not collect a sufficiently large number, they did not think it worth while to burn them publicly, but destroyed them at home in the house of the dean

* Even the space beneath the dog-kennels had to be used by the friends of the Bible as a hiding-place for their treasure.—*Comp. Elsner's Hist. of Persecut.* 506.

or of the priest, where they were either thrown into the fire, or used for private purposes. In the monasteries they cut and tore the Evangelical books, which had been obtained by violence, retaining the coverings, if they were of value. O! how many have I secretly read in my cell, and then, after taking some notes, have reluctantly replaced them or burnt them in my room, that I might not be detected. At present, however, when they lay hold of any of those works of value, they do not destroy them, but keep them secured and concealed in their libraries, that none of the "Fratribus," who are not "Lectores Theologiæ," or proper preachers, should have access to them, unless with the special permission of the superiors. I have seen such books in the library of the Jesuits at St. Clemens, where amongst others, I observed some locked up in a trellis work, and mostly bound in black leather. On asking the Jesuits what kind of books these were, they answered, "Mere heretical, Lutheran, and Calvinistic books, and they are bound in black because they are condemned, prohibited, and devilish." There is no end to this inquisition and persecution; for in the large towns, as well as in Prague, two priests have been appointed as inquisitors and examiners of such heretical works. They go twice a week to all the book-stalls, and as those who deal in books do not always understand them, these inquisitors examine all they find, and write their names in those which are not Evangelical or openly heretical. But if they find any which are Evangelical, they either have them carried home, some one always following them for that purpose, or destroy them; sometimes also,

from particular favour and good will, they leave them with the bookseller, not indeed to be sold, but that other people may be entrapped thereby. So wonderfully singular are these mad people, that they leave heathenish, fabulous, and other shameful and offensive works untouched, and exposed for sale,* whereas they cannot bear the sight of godly, holy, and spiritual books, though they contain nothing against the Pope or the papal doctrine; if they have only been printed in Wittemberg, Leipzig, Nüremberg, or any other Lutheran town, they must either tear them in pieces or burn them.”†

One of the most remarkable of these inquisitors was Anton Koniasch, who laboured as missionary in 1637. “He was especially anxious to destroy the old Hussitish writings. Wherever he preached he charged the people to render up the whole of their books for his perusal, representing their non-compliance as the ‘sin unto death.’ He then kept back those that were suspicious and offensive, and condemned them to the flames. A biographer and Jesuit, assures us that Koniasch burned more than 60,000 volumes. He possessed a peculiar gift for espying the libraries of the Hussites, regardless of all danger, being often ill-treated and beaten. On one

* Leo X. published a bull in favour of the romantic works of Ariosto, and threatened to excommunicate those who should hinder the reading or the sale thereof.

† Even in the eighteenth century the Jesuits delighted in such book burnings. When Augustus Möbius was appointed teacher at Teschen, he procured some Evangelical books from Leipzig; but the Jesuits obtained an imperial command that these books should be burned by the executioner, that Möbius should be compelled to witness it, and that he himself should be dismissed from his office. See Schulze Suppl. to Otta’s Up. Laus. Liter. Lex. 279.

occasion he was locked up three days in the hogsty of a peasant whose books he was there searching for. A certain Count Spork kept a printing office and an author in his castle; but his whole stock of books was confiscated through the influence of Koniasch, who also mutilated several thousands of Bohemian books with his own hand, and struck out the offensive passages with ink."

As the commissioners of the anti-reformation were convinced of the necessity of thus destroying books, these Jesuit auxiliaries were very valuable auxiliaries to them. Regarding the former, it is well known that they, especially the privy counsellor and burgrave, Charles Hannibal Dohna, who with Oppersdorf and Lichtenstein's soldiers, ruled with so much severity in Silesia, also burned numerous collections of books in that province. Many buried their Bibles in cellars and barns, in order to save the precious treasure for their children, especially as there was then no oral instruction, and false doctrines would alone be propounded to them. It is recorded of the peasant Morawek, whose posterity yet reside in Upper Lusatia, that he was obliged to bury his best Bible in the sand in his cellar at Czernilow, near Königingrätz, for fear of the prying Popish priests. Such concealments were often betrayed by children, whom the Jesuits used to entice by giving them images. In later times they exercised great vigilance in preventing the importation of Protestant books. One Kopezky, a native of Wessely, near Königingrätz, in 1725, attempted to introduce into Bohemia Protestant books from Zittau, where they were printed by Christian Pescheck and Wenzel Kleych; but two Jesuits discovered this trade,

and the whole stock which was found with Kopezky was publicly burned. The burgrave Gitschin, who dared to conceal some books for Kopezky, incurred the indignation of the Romanists on this account, and after his death they refused his body a grave in their churchyard. Kopezky was once fined and imprisoned ; and a reward of ten florins was offered to all informers.

On account of this furious destruction of Bohemian books, those of the years 1414—1635 are uncommonly rare, being seldom seen, except in foreign countries, where they are now no longer valued. To save and preserve something of the old Bohemian literature, which was once so rich, was attempted by means of the National Museum at Prague ; and the late baron of Stentzsch at Burgstein deserves great praise for his unwearied exertions in recovering portions of the ancient literature of his native country. Baron Hanku, the excellent librarian of the Museum has also contributed to this good work.

Some remains are still found in Saxony, which the emigrants conveyed with them, especially in the libraries of Dresden, Leipzig, Freiburg, and Zittau. The latter has a valuable collection of Bohemian books, a bequest of the minister Kruppius, in which a rare copy of the Martyrology is found, containing portraits of Huss and Jerome, which are wanting in the copies extant in Bohemia. Hans Becker, a private gentleman of Zittau, who died a few years ago, also possessed a fine collection of Bohemian religious literature, and care has been taken that whatever was ancient in it, should be conveyed to the Museum at Prague, which, by bequest

of the same gentleman, has likewise obtained the already mentioned beautiful copy of the Brethren's Bible. As long as he lived he kept his treasure very secret, for concealment became nationally habitual to the Bohemians.

The Popish clergy were most indignant at the desire manifested by the Protestants for using the Bible, regardless of the passages in Ps. cxix. 105, John v. 39, 2 Peter i. 19. Towards the common people, they made no use of proofs from the Holy Scriptures, in their discourses, but would only compel them to obedience by the authority of the church, and by violence. When, therefore, some ventured to refer to the Bible, they were mocked and abused; and the holy scriptures were accounted imperfect, obscure, and unintelligible, a cistern of heresies, and the refuge of heretics, which did not become a common man to read. They even scrupled not blasphemously to call the Bible, in the Bohemian, *Wyblila*, (*i. e.* vomit.)* Nevertheless the contents of the Bible had more room in the memory of the people than it has now; for its very prohibition was the cause of more zealous reading, and more diligent study. Even women were admirably versed in the holy scriptures.

* The words of Holyk, p. 33. As late as 1842, a Popish Bishop had the audacity to write: "the Protestant Bibles are real poison to every orthodox Christian, and no reasonable man can blame the Catholics for burning them."

CHAPTER IV.

AGENCY OF THE JESUITS, IN ACCOMPLISHING THE ANTI-REFORMATION IN BOHEMIA—ASSISTANCE OF LICHTENSTEIN'S DRAGOONS.

HITHERTO we have described what the Papal powers considered it needful primarily to effect, viz. to deprive the Protestants of their churches, to depose or expel the ministers, and to destroy all non-catholic books. Before entering into details respecting the treatment of the people, in order either to gain them over to the Romanist religion, or to chase them out of the country, it is especially necessary, to describe those who were the chief instruments, besides the commissioners, for executing the anti-reformation; these were, the Jesuits and Lichtenstein's soldiers, who most effectually furthered the work of conversion.

The Jesuits, of whose expulsion from Bohemia, and their re-introduction in 1618, we have already made mention, were now fully employed in accomplishing their favourite idea of converting Bohemia into a German Spain, and labouring to regain the Protestants for the Roman Church.

These Jesuits were not Bohemians but Spaniards, not of constitutional but of despotic principles. They had now regained possession of their college near the bridge at Prague. They had also brought with them the then new order of "the Brethren of Mercy," who

have since been found so extremely useful for their purpose. Those of that time, however, are not favourably described by Jacobeus in his work already cited on these changes; for he calls them, "publicly good, and hateful in private; externally poor, rich at home, delicate martyrs, slaves to their bellies, seducers of women, sowers of contention."*

The Jesuits took first of all from the Protestants the Simon Judas' church in the old-town, then the most lucrative village belonging to the University, and all the hospitals of the Evangelicals with their villages. One of their chief objects was to get possession of the university of Prague. As the principal professors were, up to that time, of Protestant principles, and many distinguished scholars had been banished, they hastened to set up teachers from among the Jesuits. But although there were among them men of real knowledge and able teachers, yet the stop to its progress, already spoken of, ensued; because everything connected with it became stagnated by their principles.

When, after the battle upon the White-hill near Prague, in 1620, the Protestant teachers and schoolmasters were driven out of Bohemia, says Pelzel, "the golden age for the Jesuits began to flourish in that kingdom. They obtained not only the Latin schools, but also the three universities of Prague, Olmütz, and Breslau. Whoever wished to obtain learning in Bohemia, Moravia, or Silesia, had to go to the schools of the Jesuits, where philosophy, mathematics, theology, and whatever belongs to

* And we may well ask, are the "Sisters of Mercy," now employed by the Papists, in this and other countries, much better? We suspect that the above description, changing only the sex, is as applicable to our own time as to the period then present.

these classes were publicly taught. And though there were, at the same time, men of other orders who also had schools, they were but assistants to the great society, whose sentiments and mode of teaching became pre-eminent. To those, however, who did not belong to their society, they afforded only a limited degree of knowledge, keeping what was soundest and best to themselves. The few learned among the laity, priests, and monks, of that time, were but indifferent scholars; for the Jesuits were careful to draw the most talented men into their society; and the cardinal and bishop of Prague, Count Ernst of Harrach, complained to the Pope, that the Jesuits received the ablest students into their order, and left him the inferior ones for the secular priesthood."

Of great influence, doubtless, were the colleges at Krumau, Kommothau and Neuhaus, and in Moravia those of Brünn and Olmütz. At Gitschin they had also a flourishing establishment under the patronage of Lichtenstein, whither they required clever youths to be sent from Sagan, Friedland, &c. as already stated in the account of Gunther's expulsion; for they were anxious to obtain, not merely foreign Jesuits, but such also as were masters of the Bohemian language. They laboured wherever they could with zeal, perseverance, and often with great sacrifices, and under unfavourable circumstances. They were especially active as the attendants of the anti-reformation commissioners, who had not only soldiers with them to terrify, force, and worry the people, but also Jesuits to teach and persuade them; as, indeed, it was the Emperor's published desire that persuasion and instruction should be the chief means in that work. They were

sometimes kind, friendly, condescending, and indefatigable in presenting their reasons, but oftener rude and imperious. After the expulsion of the Protestant clergy, the Emperor sent the people to these commissioners; and they consequently demanded obedience with great confidence, and impetuosity. The writer Holyk, who knew them well, from having been a long time near them, gives the following description of the manner in which they acquitted themselves of their commission, and of the way in which they treated the people.

"They come," says he, "with sweet and kind words, and begin: 'My dear friend, is it right for you to forsake the unanimous and clear doctrine of Christendom, or that you should embrace the faith condemned by antiquity, and that for no other reason than because you think the Lutherans explain the holy scriptures and the divine mysteries so excellently? Will you make out and consider eternally condemned as unbelieving, idolatrous, and wicked men, so many holy martyrs, so many excellent and learned men, only because you think yourself wiser in your own estimation, and know the scriptures better than they; as though the Lord Jesus Christ had, throughout 1500 years, left in darkness the Roman Catholic church, which he has purchased with his own blood?'" They craftily kept from view the abominations of the papal system, speciously desiring it to be believed, that as God saved men *in* that system, they must have been saved *by* its abominations—which is utterly impossible if the Bible be true.

When they had to do, not with single individuals, but with bodies of men, they addressed them with

eloquent enthusiasm, and sometimes they had platforms erected for that purpose. With what success will be seen in the example of the famous and prosperous proselyte-maker, Adam Krawarsky, and in other instances which will be found in the history of their Romanizing the towns and villages. When sent out for that purpose they were called *missionaries*; wherefore Pelzel, in his biography of several Jesuits, points out the years they served as missionaries during the time they had been in that order, and whither they had entirely devoted themselves to the *mission*. Many who remained in the colleges laboured as lecturers to the young theologians, designedly teaching them the *art* of combating, and if possible of overcoming the non-catholics in argument. They who could not labour against the Protestants orally, did it in writing; many truly active men were indefatigable on both sides. Pelzel cites a Jesuit of the 18th century, John Krause, who died in 1732 at Gitschin, and was one of their ablest controversialists. In the Jesuits' college at that place the following inscription is found under his portrait: "he was one of the most zealous persecutors of heresy by pen and mouth, mainly employing his multifarious erudition against the non-catholics, especially by pamphlets, 80,000 of which were distributed throughout Europe to great advantage."

They were certainly indefatigable in travelling about, and even under precarious circumstances, teaching, exhorting, warning, entreating, and threatening. It may be that they took their model from 2 Chr. xvii. 6, &c.—where it is said, concerning the pious king Jehoshaphat, that having destroyed idol worship, he sent great men with priests and Levites into the cities: "and they taught in Judah, and

had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went about through all the cities of Judah and taught the people,"—like the anti-reformation commission with the Jesuits and monks; the law of whose lord, however, was not the holy scripture: after which, and faithful addresses therefrom, the minds of the Evangelicals were longing, when, alas! they could no longer enjoy even preachers in the forests. It is matter of fact, witnessed by many with great sadness, that these poor, starving, fellow-Christians were in some places in the habit of stopping the wheels of a Protestant traveller's carriage, parents and children weeping, and earnestly inquiring, whether the Evangelical religion would be brought to them again? whether they would not again have their preachers? whether there was any hope of deliverance? whether the blessed treasure of the pure word of God would not again be afforded them to satisfy the craving of their souls?

But who could venture to answer these demands in a satisfactory manner, while the Jesuits settled down on the land, and built palaces after palaces, for which, indeed, there was abundance of room, since many were obliged to quit, after having been reduced to great distress by the deprivation of their property.

Among the Jesuits none was more indefatigable in the work of Romanizing Bohemia than father Adam Krawarsky. His colleague Balbin bestows upon him the highest praise, and judges that he laboured with more success than any other, "in restoring the Bohemian heretics to the church." He was born in Bavorow, near Ratisbon in Silesia, in the year 1585; and was recommended to the order by the clergy of that place. His mother

brought him herself to the Jesuit school at Olmütz. Hethen studied at Kommotau, and was there admitted to the order in 1607. After completing his studies, and his noviciate at Brünn, he was consecrated priest. Balbin then describes the services which he performed for Romanism in the following manner :—

“ He subsequently devoted himself entirely to the business of gaining souls. After the heretics had been subdued in that great battle on the White-hill, and were driven out of the kingdom, the superiors immediately sent our father Adam to Prachatitz, Wodnian, and Pisek, all heretical towns. He was, however, recalled, because the time was unseasonable, and it did not appear advantageous to importune the heretics with sermons, while their wounds were yet bleeding, and they themselves were yet dripping with blood. Father Adam’s first work in Bohemia, as well as his first harvest, was at Kossumberg, belonging to the family of Slawata. There it was that he laboured with all possible zeal, and within a few months 500 persons abjured the heresy, confessed willingly and without compulsion, and received the supper after the manner of the Catholics. He then took under his instruction the district of Rakonitz, which was much more fully infected with heresy than any other place in the empire. The Emperor, the archbishop and the states gave him written commissions, and he immediately proceeded to the district. But because the country people had taken up arms, he generally kept himself in secure places, chiefly in the castle of Bürglitz, famous in the history of the kingdom. And though armed people often came near him, yet the grace of God so directed it, and his affability in conversation so

gained upon them, that they became willing to be instructed by him in the true faith, and could be set up as examples for others. When once the great made a beginning, then every thing else went on well. After having laboured one year, 10,000 Bohemians were gained to Rome in that district alone ; and the Emperor rejoiced when this report was communicated to him. That work being accomplished, the provincial, Peter Rumer, who was delighted with his good success, sent him to Trebnitz, whose district includes three cities, three small towns, and forty-two villages. All these were noted for various heresies, chiefly that of Bunzlau and the Picards, for whom Peter Wok of Rosenberg, had lately established a school at Sobieslaw. Provided with directions and high commissions, father Adam went there and effected so much among the people, that 5000 souls at Trebnitz, Sobieslaw, Lomnitz, Wesel, and the neighbouring villages, were restored to the church. This fact was attested by many proofs which were sent to Ferdinand, who so rejoiced over it, that he communicated to him his formal thanks through father Henri Philippi. After the Trebnitz mission had been concluded with such happy results, he went to Karlstein, at the request of Baron John Kawka of Rziczau. Here the danger equalled the labour—the minds of the people were as bewildered as their woods. If one began about religion they took it as an offence. They came to his preaching armed with muskets. If he spoke something with zeal and keenness, the women quitted the church and returned home ; the men threatened him severely, and left the father standing alone. He indeed was in danger of losing his

life, especially on one occasion, while explaining the Catechism to some ignorant people at Tetin. Two strong men with axes made their way to the church, whose diabolical faces betrayed a criminal intention. They immediately began to make a noise and to dispute with the father; asking what he really wanted, and what new doctrine he taught? They evidently intended only to quarrel. The hearers left the place, but the father contented himself, at first, by answering them with mild words, and he thus allayed their fury, which was indeed the best mode of proceeding; and these ungodly men themselves, wondering at their own calmness, went away without injuring him. There was much work to be done, and for months he had to instruct the people daily. His labours, however, were successful, and father Adam could count 500 persons, whom he had converted from heresy, and the number would doubtless have increased, if the orders of the superiors had not called him to the new-town of Prague; for that was accounted the most obstinate of all places. It was filled with heresy to overflowing, and as history proves, in an extraordinary manner inclined to rebellion. But God granted father Adam such grace, that it almost dropped from his lips. By his preaching he first gained respect; he then visited the principal citizens in their own houses, divested them of their useless scruples, shewed them the antiquity and glory of our own religion, and abolished from their souls all remembrance of their former errors. Whoever still hesitated he moved by the prospect of commendation. As soon as he thus by degrees restored to the faith the principal families, the common people quickly yielded, induced by the example of the

rich ; so that in the course of that year, above 4000 came to the light of divine faith in that city. By direction of superiors he was then sent to arrange the affairs of the college of his order at Königingrätz. But as the business was delayed, the father swept out heresy from the surrounding country. He also pressed forward into the mountains of Zamberg, to the admiration of all those who understand these matters ; for every place was full of Bohemian Brethren and Picards, that ungodly sect having flourished most in those parts, where they called themselves ‘Kunwalders,’ from the village Kunwald, which was situated in the mountains. He conquered that horrible heresy throughout the whole of that district. None are now more peaceable, more catholic than those people ; they most piously and firmly admire and love the mysteries of our religion, and are much better than the inhabitants of the town. To all this I can testify, as an eye-witness, for I was myself in that part many years after father Adam. Having thus gained so many souls, and obtained such triumphs over heresy, he afterwards lived in colleges and houses of profession, until eight years before his death, when he eclipsed all his former achievements by a most glorious and immortal activity. An account of which I insert from father Adam’s own papers.

“I was now sent, (he writes) to the domains of Opoczna, belonging to Count Rudolph Collredo, with five others of our fathers. The origin of the mission was the decision of the diet of that year, that the lords of the separate domains should look to it, that within an appointed time their subjects should either become again believers and be converted, or quit the country. Opoczna was the rebellious

domain, which, after all the districts of the kingdom had been converted, and instructed in the principles of the catholic faith, by an appointed commission with fathers of our order, remained 27 years longer in the thick darkness of error. The people even took up arms, and following the footsteps of Ziska, fought for the cup. They afterwards began to plunder, and at Neustadt robbed the treasury of the domain of 100,000 florins. They were then joined by the inhabitants of the surrounding country. But troops were sent from Prague to frustrate the plans of these ungodly men, and many were taken and hanged; others were put to the wheel, or sentenced to different punishments. Finally the year 1562 arrived, when I was sent thither with five other fathers. We divided our labour throughout the whole domain, and began by preaching and catechising in the churches, in the town-halls, and in the houses. After five months of labour, we observed such a change in their minds, that they came by hundreds successively to Opoczna, and took upon them the easy yoke of Jesus. The number of those who came to confession, and strengthened themselves by the holy communion, amounted to 6,040 souls."

"This, continues Balbin, I have taken from his own manuscript. Who would not envy and admire him? Many wondered that unarmed men succeeded in what armed men failed to accomplish. He was led back to Prague and the house of profession, as it were in triumph, by Count Colloredo, and then resumed his former care of souls among the Benedictines of St. George, spending thirteen years in that difficult occupation, under great and heavenly blessings to the holy virgins, in exhortations, and hearing of confessions, in consolations and

encouragements to obedience towards God ; having almost daily to ascend the high castle hill of Prague, even when already far advanced in age, for the performance of the above duties. By order of the superiors, he had, a little before his death, to write with a trembling hand, a summary of his conversions, which amounted altogether to 33,140, whom he had restored to Christ and the church, with an enviable success. Now, I ask, how was it possible for him to do this ? Surely, God himself had so created his body and soul for the salvation of others, that nothing else was so suitable to the minds of rude men. He had a noble, one may say, lion-like appearance. He was admirably tall and broad-shouldered. His mouth indicated a noble speech, his countenance had something august in its formation, a princely freedom of his eyes added emphasis and charm to his words. He was quick in drawing conclusions, and long experience had taught him how to draw on minds. As he came, his serious look excited respect, when he went no one was kinder than he. Coming to heretics his first care was to gain their respect. For this cause he carried with him the imperial orders and letters from the archbishop and other great men. These he laid first of all before the authorities for confirmation. That being done, he made the senate of the town accompany him to the churches, where the people had to be ready assembled. He then opened his papers and read them aloud, with some comments. In these the archbishop generally enjoined the curate to assist him. When assembled together with their communities, he publicly announced to them their duty. His appearance made so much impression on the people, that he seemed not merely

to speak, but even to command. Thus father Adam gained such high esteem, that he was called the most learned and greatest among the Jesuits. When mounted upon an elevated place, he swore first upon his knees before God, and all the saints, that he would only speak that which should be essential to the true salvation of the hearers, that he would take upon himself the blood of their souls,* and hold himself responsible, if he was knowingly wrong, and that he was ready to answer for all before the divine judgment, and to be condemned to hell; adding many other striking and impressive sentences. Then followed an ardent speech. When there was any thing to be proved, he had a Bible open before him, and read the passages aloud. If there was any Greek or Latin to be translated from the Bible, he did it with great readiness. On this account he was often called the biblical doctor. Thus his addresses were productive of much good. Almost by preaching alone, he gained the hearts of the people, and thus led them back to the obedience of the church."

Balbin then speaks of his religious character, his fervency in prayer, and his strict mode of life; adding the following as his usual practice:—"If he came on his journey to a place where they had as yet no priest, he inquired whether there were any sick there, and then visited them after the apostolic manner. When at home, he sat, in summer and winter, in the so-called confession chamber, where the people

* Thus, by insidiously proposing himself as their propitiation, he attempted to cajole his hearers out of their faith in Christ, the only Saviour of mankind, into a reliance on the blasphemous doctrine of the Roman Church, that only through its priests are men to receive the benefits of the Christian dispensation.

flocked to him, which caused him great joy. This he was reluctantly obliged to give up in his old age, when the power of hearing failed him. In the year 1652 a member of another order brought an accusation at Rome against the Bohemian Jesuits, that they were inert and unproductive of good. The report of father Adam's mission to the heretics of the domain of Count Colloredo, containing the account of 6040 conversions, happened at that time to be sent to the Emperor at Vienna, and to the general of the order at Rome and the congregation *pro propaganda fide*, which the Jesuits urged in their favour to disprove the accusation."

"I (says Balbin) could cite more than three hundred of our fathers, each of whom had converted several thousands; one of them could count 16,000. A respectable member of our order writes thus of father Adam:—'I have travelled much through the cities and villages, *e. g.* between Prague, and Klattau, and Breznitz, moreover between Prague and Königgrätz, and Kosteletz, and then again towards the district of Krumau, and almost everywhere the people asked me after father Adam, as to where he lived, and how he was? They spoke of him with gratitude for having again brought them to the catholic faith.' The chief burgrave, Jaroslaw of Martinitz, when speaking of him in company of the most distinguished men, called him the Bohemian Apostle. Father Lamormain, confessor of the Emperor Ferdinand II., judged father Adam to have been especially sent of God for the conversion of Bohemia. He himself relates the following deliverance which he experienced:—'On my return homewards, some men from Budissin went before, in order to way-lay me. But before I fell into

their hands, a messenger met me with imperial letters to the chief governor of Upper Lusatia. Taking the letters from him, I returned to the town, and thus escaped the danger. In the city they thought me already perished. The dean, who met me, would not let me proceed alone, but accompanied me with his domestics to the Bohemian frontier.'

"When the Saxon troops had taken Prague in 1631, father Adam was beaten and severely injured by them. And though the Jesuits were then expelled from the city, father Adam, with the respected and eloquent father Swabansky, returned for the consolation of the Romanists. They appeared disguised as colliers, having blackened their faces, and driving coal-waggon to the houses of the Romanists, they went in, and comforted them with the hopes of a speedy change of affairs. The vice-chancellor, Raphael Mnissowsky, often bought coals of the fathers, who stopped with their oxen at his door, where the animals were committed to the care of a lad, and the Jesuits went into a room, washed their hands and faces, and calling the household together, read mass. They then again blackened themselves, and took leave. Wallenstein soon after arrived with his army, and besieged the Saxons in Prague; but before the imperialists had broken into the town, father Adam took boat, and by himself crossed the Moldau. When he arrived at the Jesuit college, some Jews had already bought the furniture of the house, the wines, and other things from the Saxons, and were ready to flee. But through the medium of some well disposed citizens, he succeeded in detaining them;

and thus the fathers received back much of their property. The year 1648, when his strength was already much broken, was a sad year for him. The Swedes under Königsmark had at this time taken the Kleinseite by treachery, and waged war against no other church but ours. The soldiers approached and began to plunder. While they were raging, as though they had taken Prague by force of arms, father Adam arrived. They took the grey-headed old man, who had sacrificed himself for us all, and beat and bruised him shamefully. Then they led him out into the market-place with father Martin Santinus, declaring that they had captured them; and had the matter gone on, they would have taken father Adam to Sweden. He died in the 75th year of his age. His body was followed to the grave by the principal officers of state, the most respectable ladies, and the inhabitants of every grade. The poor wept greatly, and the whole street from the college to the market was occupied by the train of those who followed him. Pelzel, in his *Lives of the Literati*, iii. 98, testifies that he was a pious man, and lived an irreproachable life."

Balbin also praises Andrew Metsch, who was a very eloquent preacher, and a man of untiring activity. "He had converted 10,018 heretics to the catholic church by his holy and learned sermons, nine Protestant preachers he brought to conviction, and regained 109 apostates." Oppel, also, "to the joy and peace of their relatives, had great success in converting heretics to the orthodox creed, especially many of the nobility, chiefly females, who were on the eve of emigrating from the country."

In the memoir which Balbin dedicated to those

Jesuits who in the plague became a sacrifice to their spiritual fidelity, he celebrates among others Caspar Hillebrand, and states, "that he too had been out upon dangerous missions to the heretics, that he had converted many, and had strengthened the weak."

In his biography of the *Literati of Bohemia* iii. 114, Pelzel mentions, that George Ferus (Plachy) "employed all his learning in the conversion of non-catholics. It must be ascribed (he says) to his powerful and irresistible eloquence that the inhabitants of Prachatitz returned again in a short time to the catholic church. They call him to this present day their apostle." Many others he praises on this account in his pamphlet published in 1786, from which we cite the following passages:—

"Frederic Bridel was fifteen years missionary in Bohemia. He travelled especially throughout the mountainous country, in the districts of Königingrätz, Bunzlau, Chrudim, and Czaslau, where he led the people back to the orthodox religion. So long as he could save some souls, he cared neither for unfavourable weather, steep mountains, and difficult roads through forests, nor for reproach, threatening, and beating, which he often had to endure from the Hussites." "Benjamin Schlayer preached three years in Prague, and brought over many non-catholics to the church; and Jacob Gratz converted some respectable families to the holy faith through his irreproachable life and forcible representations of the truth." "Matthias Vierius entirely devoted himself to the mission, and pressed forward to the remotest districts, in the mountains of Silesia and Bohemia, to half barbarian

inhabitants, who abhorred all other priests. But he understood so well how to tame them, that finally they both loved him and obeyed his doctrine, and calling him a holy man, even kissed his garments."

One of the most zealous was the Jesuit Ferdinand Kolowrat, of whom Pelzel says, "He was a famous preacher, and a forcible controversialist; he once disputed in 1618 at Prague with two Protestant ministers for a whole day, though without the desired result."

The Jesuits had, indeed, difficult work in the affair of conversion. Not only did they often labour in vain, their attendance being abhorred, but they also met with violent resistance, as is evident from the history of Krawarsky, mentioned above. They had often to suffer shame and bodily ill-treatment; of which Pelzel gives an instance when speaking of the Jesuit Michael Plank: "He had to endure much reproach from the Lutheran mob in Breslau, who were not as yet used to the Jesuits. They often pelted him with mud, snow-balls, and stones."

Some of the Jesuits even lost their lives by violence while attempting to convert the Protestants to the church of Rome. To the memory of these zealous men Balbin dedicates a section of his work, from which the following particulars are extracted.

"The Jesuit Matthias Burnatius, a learned and worthy man, was intrusted with the duty of converting the non-catholics near Gitschin to the orthodox church; and by his preaching, conversation, and counsel, he gained some thousands of utraquists. But in the town of Rowenska they un-animously resisted him; so that the Governor of

Gitschin at length attempted to subdue them by soldiers. The people then ordered the bells to be rung, and came out with their rustic weapons in such numbers that the soldiers did not venture to face them ; they merely set the bell-steeple on fire and retired. Matthias intended to follow the people from Libun, where he read mass in the mean time. The peasants, who became still more exasperated by the burning of their steeple, were informed of it, and proceeding thither in a body, they surrounded the houses and sought to kill him. He was discovered when attempting to escape through a back-door in the yard, where one gave him a deadly blow in his forehead with a lance, and another cut off the middle finger of his right hand ; and he fell. Then rising upon his knees he declared that he was not to blame for the melting of their bells. Upon this one stabbed him in the back with a hay-fork, and another shot him through the breast. They also inflicted twelve wounds upon his choir-boy, who instantly died ; then throwing the body into the dung-hole, they departed triumphantly. The Jesuit afterwards received a very honourable burial near the altar of the church in Gitschin. The murderers were subsequently taken, and terribly tortured ; they, however, became Romanists and repented of the crime committed upon that innocent man." Then Balbin gives an account of the murder of three priests, in the year 1639, when the Swedes under Banner invaded Bohemia, and the Protestants vainly imagined that they were come to bring about the return of their exiled countrymen, and the restoration of king Frederic. Yet the Swedes only plundered them. The peasants, therefore, to

secure themselves both against the Swedes and the imperialists, fled to the forests.

At that time the members of the Jesuits' college in Kuttenberg determined to flee to Neuhaus from fear of their enemies. Though Peter Lancisi anticipated danger, and dissuaded them from going, he was told that an old man like him ought rather to set an example of unconditional obedience. They therefore departed, some in waggons, some on horseback, and some on foot. They had scarcely proceeded a mile from Kuttenberg and entered the forest, when some peasants and hunters fired at them, and shot the priests John Meagh and Wenzel Trnozka dead on the spot; a third, Martin Ignatius was mortally wounded. Lancisi, who was on horseback, escaped with the loss of the manuscripts and relics which he carried. The bodies were decently interred by baron Gersdorf of Malschwitz; and the murderers were afterwards seized, and confessed on the rack that their lord had ordered them to do it from religious hatred. That nobleman was consequently confined in the White tower at Prague, where he remained a few years, denying the crime with which he had been charged. Soon after his release, he fell in a duel. Meagh, who was murdered, was a native of Ireland; he was received into the order at Rome in 1625; had travelled much, possessed a great knowledge of Roman literature, and was generally beloved by his order.

As the Jesuits were not sufficient for the anti-reformation, others were also employed, men both of clerical and secular orders. Of these the Dominicans and Franciscans are particularly mentioned. They were sent to places where less opposition and

difficulty was expected to arise, and the Jesuits were sent where others failed of success. Here and there we also find canons of Prague actively engaged, several of whom have already been mentioned. The danger with which this employment was connected was the cause why the priests, thus sent, preferred taking up their chief quarters in strong castles; in this way they were best guarded against the violence of the peasantry.

It was not with the sword of the spirit, but with a sword of steel, that another fraternity laboured in those times of anti-reformation. This was the well known Lichtenstein's dragoons, who, in 1626, in conjunction with the Bavarians, cruelly tortured and murdered the pious mountaineers of Upper Austria, vying with each other in the exhibition of vices the most ferocious and disgusting. It was through the instrumentality of these wretches that Bohemia became transformed in the short space of fifteen years; for Pelzel expressly says, that in 1620, Bohemia had become almost entirely Protestant,* with the exception of the monks, and a few of the nobility; but at the death of Ferdinand II. at least in appearance, it was entirely Popish. The writer just mentioned, thus continues: "The conversion of a whole country in so short a time, was ascribed by the Jesuits to themselves alone; but as they were boasting of it at Rome in the presence of the Pope, the famous Capuchin Valerianus Magnus, who was present, and had taken part in the Reformation of Bohemia, said: "Holy father, give me soldiers as they were given to the Jesuits, and I will convert the whole world to the Catholic faith."

* Hereby is not to be understood *Lutheran*, but merely *non-catholic*, mostly *utraqustic*.

The Lichtenstein conversion-soldiers, received their name from Prince Charles Lichtenstein, who was at that time imperial governor, and especially managed the restoration of the Bohemians to the Papal faith; supplying detachments of soldiers for the purpose of aiding the object of the conversionists, by terror and compulsion; because conversion was considered a matter of submission, and steadfastness a proof of disobedience. Those soldiers, destined to produce fear and distress, consisted partly of dragoons and cuirassiers, under the Spaniard Huerda, and partly of Spanish and Bavarian infantry, with some others. They were perfect masters in the art of terrifying the people, of ill-using and torturing them by every means; and Zdenko Liebsteinsky Kolowrat, one of the most active persecutors of the Protestants, used them effectually for this purpose. These Lichtensteiners were not an army that had faced the enemy; they were only appointed to harass an unarmed peasantry, and they were permitted to indulge in all manner of licentiousness. What could be expected from barbarous men, knowing that every species of oppression would not only be tolerated but gloried in by their general? They were especially employed for the purpose of driving the people to the Popish mass with their sabres, being well aware that the Emperor had determined to effect a uniform religion and worship in his dominions, and to put the people under guardianship, as he said, for their salvation; they were, therefore, also called *saviours*. Being quartered in the houses of the Protestants, they tormented their hosts with outrageous demands, and incessant

ill-treatment ; but they were immediately removed from any house in which the master declared himself a Romanist. What a temptation even for those who up to that time had remained steadfast ? One of their most revolting modes of conversion was that of tying down mothers, so that they should be unable to reach their infants, whose cries they were compelled to listen to, without being permitted to suckle them until they should promise to become Romanists.

In Bohemia there must have existed numerous accounts of the ferocious deeds of those Lichtensteiners ; but excepting what is contained in the history of the suppression of Protestantism in some single cities, we have no access to any of them. We shall however, insert some extracts from the manuscript chronicles of Zittau, a city bordering upon Bohemia, though its inhabitants themselves did not endure those tortures, because that city, with the whole of Lusatia, was then happily mortgaged to Saxony, and protected by that Protestant power. " In February and March, 1628, it is recorded, that religious persecution approached nearer and nearer to the cities. Count Kolowrat, imperial commissioner during the anti-reformation, used force against the inhabitants of Gabel, by beating and chaining ; and seizing all the Lutheran books which the Evangelicals had in their houses, he burned them near the whipping-post. Then transferring the commission to Grafenstein, he arrived there on the 10th of March ; for whose arrival the proprietor (lord Tzschirnhaus) did not wait, but retired to Zittau. In consequence of this, the commissioner broke into and seized the castle, immediately beginning the

reform, which the peasantry stoutly resisted. In April, the anti-reformation made such progress that the vassals went to confession, and took the communion *sub una*. In 1631, the nobility and officers of the towns and villages had to quit the country. Those of the Lutheran religion, were entirely dismissed from their offices, and Papists put in their stead; the priests and Jesuits raging fearfully. In whatever parish they settled themselves, the peasants at first drove them out, for they could not easily conform to their religion. To enforce their purposes, they employed Zdenko Liebsteinsky, whom the Emperor had ennobled with the title of Count. A company of soldiers was given him. These and himself were called 'salvationists,' who took the poor people as they found them, at home, in the street, or in the field, and drove them like cattle to the church. There they were forced to confess after the manner of the Papists, and were immediately absolved. For the Papists thought that if they had only compelled the people to confession, and to partake of the sacrament in one kind, the whole matter was effected, and that they were made sufficiently popish. They then let them live in security, promising them moreover offices and estates; but they gave them nothing. Many, therefore, fell into great doubt, and again embraced the Lutheran religion. The condition of Silesia and Bohemia became in the course of time most miserable, as the 'salvationists' raged everywhere."

The operations of these military missionaries were not confined, as we have seen, to Bohemia; for the Emperor, having broken the agreement, in favour of the Protestants in Silesia, which had been ex-

torted from him by the Elector of Saxony, sent his anti-reformation commissioners into that country also, the chief of whom were the burgrave Charles Hannibal Dohna, lord of Wartenberg, and George count Oppersdorf, baron of Aich and Friedstein. Their proceedings are minutely detailed by the historian Ehrhard, from whose work we extract the following particulars relative to the treatment of the city of Glogau :—

“ The troops of Lichtenstein, under colonel De Goes, which had never been led against an enemy, but only employed in Moravia to force innocent Evangelical Christians to the papacy, were led by a special commissioner of the Emperor to Silesia, and from thence to Lusatia for the very purpose, as every one supposed, and as the result proved, of also deforming the poor people of the country ; these *soul-saviours*, as they were called, from long practice, having acquired a peculiar art in accomplishing such missions. When Dohna and Oppersdorf, men of like mind with Huerda, and count Herbersdorf, (who as governor of Linz, and in the name of the duke of Bavaria, had plundered, tormented, and killed the people of that country because they were heretics), had chosen their proper time, the regiment was again required in Silesia, in the principality of Liegnitz, from which it had immediate orders to depart and march to Grossglogau, under show of proceeding to Brandenburg, so that on the 26th of October, 1628, it took up quarters in the neighbourhood of Glogau. This created great bustle and anxiety, and Dohna was let through the gates of Breslau by night, lest he should be too late for the object of his joy ; having to travel a long way, and desiring

to keep his appointment. For Oppersdorf had written to him by all means to give him the opportunity of being present, as he would have to answer for it to father Lamormain,* should he happen to be absent from so good a work. According to their appointment, Lichtenstein's troops were admitted into the city during the night, and while its unsuspecting inhabitants were asleep. It had been so preconcerted, that none but papists remained upon guard, so that the soldiers were not only admitted within the walls, but even led into the streets, and distributed through every quarter with all possible silence. The houses were carefully guarded, so that no citizen might go to another, or receive information as to whence the troops had arrived. I leave every one to imagine the terror caused by this proceeding. Inquiries were now made among the citizens for the houses of the Evangelicals, and their residences, and the soldiers were billeted in them; the inhabitants being ordered to supply them with every thing they might desire. The Papists in the mean while remained unmolested. The soldiers having already been employed for similar purposes, and understanding the business from practice, knew well the design of all this. They accordingly rushed into the houses, furiously cursing and swearing like so many devils incarnate, beating their hosts, and demanding more money than they were able to raise. But they never failed to declare, that if any wanted to be rid of them, and so escape from their ill-treatment, they must either go to confession, or at least get a certificate of abso-

* The Emperor's confessor, often alluded to.

lution ; otherwise they could not help them. Thus it was, that many from fear, others from ignorance, and others again from indifference, hastened to Dohna, as chief 'soul-saviour,' who immediately furnished them with absolutions ready signed. As soon as this document was produced, the soldiers evacuated the house, and took up their quarters with one who had not yet provided himself with a shrift or confessional ticket. On account of this unexpected invasion, and the irresistible troubles they were subject to, the multitude of people in that large city became so eager to obtain shrifts, that they began to fight for them, and pressed forward in such crowds, that the priests who were in attendance, were unable to write, and Dohna to sign them with sufficient despatch. But the more the number of the apostates multiplied, the more the trouble and torment increased to those who resolved to remain firm, and the number of the soldiers billeted in some of their dwellings amounted to whole companies. This was by no means the usual quartering, in which the host gives what he can, and the soldier must be satisfied ; for now when a man gave all that he had, and even what he could borrow besides, it availed nothing so long as he did not engage to become a Papist. In the mean time he was beaten and driven about in the house and in the streets, until he should procure wine and money, or consented to apply to the priest, and obtain a confessional ticket ; so that even many respectable people found themselves overwhelmed with the utmost distress. This however was not all which intolerance practised in Glogau at that time ; for some, who had before resisted Oppersdorf, when he

attempted to deprive the Lutherans of the church of St. Nicholas, had to pay for that resistance with their lives. We must likewise add the cruel treatment suffered by pastor Valentine Preibisch. Immediately after the entrance of the soldiery into the city, he was thrown into prison, and a sword and a crucifix were laid before him, giving him the choice either of death or apostacy. When his noble wife was informed of it, she sent him a message, requesting him to choose the sword;—and he remained steadfast. This is sufficient to prove that they spared no kind of violence in order to deprive the Evangelicals of Glogau of the most precious of all privileges, the privilege of religious liberty; and to consummate the hypocrisy of their persecutors, both the town-council and the people were compelled to execute a deed on the 2nd of April, 1629, testifying under their hands and seals, that they had *not* been *compelled* to embrace the Popish religion, but had done so from their own free choice; and previously, on the 4th of June, 1628, they had been required to sign a statute by which all the Evangelicals were for ever deprived of citizenship, and the means of obtaining a livelihood within the walls of Glogau, for the imperial confirmation of which they had moreover to petition the court at Vienna. In consequence of which many left their houses and property and fled to Poland.”

This statement is confirmed by the testimony of the Jesuit Nerlich, who admits that the soldiers took everything by main force and extortion, beat and otherwise ill-treated the people, plundered, burned, and destroyed their property, depriving them even of the necessities of life, so that the poor people were left in a state of starvation. He finds fault

with the whole proceeding, saying, "that though they who went over to Romanism might have been hypocrites or careless men, the sacraments were still squandered away upon them; that occasion was given for discontent and anger, whereby the Roman church has been made odious to them; that moreover the offensive conduct of the Popish soldiers did by no means recommend their religion, and that it was no wonder the citizens should dislike to go to church while they knew the soldiers to be with their wives, or had to fear that they might in the mean time be plundered." The Jesuit, therefore, advised that Lichtenstein's troops should be removed. But these compulsory measures answered so well in Glogau, that Count Dohna boasted of his having been able to do more than Peter, who had converted 3,000 on the day of Pentecost, whereas he had converted many more without the trouble of preaching a single sermon.

The Evangelicals at Schwebus were also deprived of their churches and schools, whose ministers and schoolmasters were driven away, and all were compelled, by Count Dohna and his assistants the dragoons, to become Romanists. He summoned the council to the town-hall, which he surrounded with soldiers, and compelled them to sign a statute which the Jesuits had planned at Vienna, in favour of the Papal religion, and to declare that they had themselves become convinced of the Lutheran errors, and therefore determined to embrace Romanism. The inhabitants were now called upon to confess their sins to the priests, and receive the communion as Papists. But as the minority only obeyed, recourse was had to the dragoons who took up their quarters with the citizens, and cruelly tormented

them until they promised submission to Romanism, which being done, they drove them to mass and the public declaration of the Popish creed.

“ During the Papal reformation, by means of Lichtenstein's dragoons, the Lutheran service in the parish church of Grunberg also ceased. Its ministers after being treated with great severity, were driven away on the 8th of November, 1628. The congregations were then forced to deny the Lutheran faith, and their religious books were burnt. After a lapse of four weeks a Jesuit was appointed over the parish. An order was also issued at Glogau in 1629, by which the deposed Evangelical ministers were not to be tolerated even in the neighbourhood, and the Lutheran curates in the churches of the nobility, were forbidden to declaim against the religion of Rome. In the year 1629, the Evangelical citizens of Grunberg addressed themselves to the Elector of Saxony, and prayed for his intercession with the imperial court, concerning their religious oppressions, which he promised them. In the mean time, before an answer was returned from Vienna, Oppersdorf and Dohna arrived with five companies of imperialists, and required quarters in the town. The citizens endeavoured to prevent them, and prayed them to wait for the answer from Vienna. The soldiers then took up their quarters in Sawade ; but the city had to furnish them with bread and beer for several weeks. During that time public Lutheran prayer-meetings were held twice a day in the churchyard of the church of the Cross. On the 10th of September, at 5 o'clock in the morning, the devoted town was upon a sudden surrounded by soldiers and taken. They plundered the inhabitants,

and dragged them to the town-hall, where many were wounded, and five individuals killed. The cause assigned for this outrage was the refusal of the citizens to admit the imperial troops. A vivid description of the conduct of these soldiers, is contained in an old manuscript, which thus expresses itself, concerning those days of tribulation :—

“The first thing heard from the soldiers in the parsonages, was: ‘Catholic, Catholic, or away with them!’ Modesty or decency was rarely to be found amongst them, and the women had to conceal themselves for security. On the 8th of November, in the morning, pastor Williet and the deacon Rippe, met together for the purpose of reporting their behaviour to the burgomaster, and to request his protection; but it was in vain, for violence took the place of justice. When they returned, the soldiers attacked and accused them, (as if they had no right to leave the house) of having removed some of their property, and thus robbed their quarters; for this they had to pay two dollars to each soldier, without allowing any remonstrance whatever, and with the warning, that if they again left their quarters they would be worse treated. Demanding the two dollars from the deacon, they placed their swords against his breast, exclaiming :— ‘Parson, produce the money, or our swords shall pierce your body.’ Church time came, but then these sons of Belial cried in the houses of the ministers: ‘Away, away! We want to eat and drink, parson; we must have our breakfast!’ Hundreds of people stood in the churchyard; one wanting to confess, another crying bitterly, another again wishing once more to see his spiri-

tual guide—but all in vain! The soldiers then fired a few shots in order to disperse them. Nevertheless, the pastor took courage, ordered the church door to be opened, and entered with several hundred persons—some soldiers following them. The minister began to sing from the altar, the last two verses of the hymn, “In thee have I trusted, O Lord,” “Into thine hands I commend my spirit, &c.” When he had turned round, he said in front of the pulpit: ‘After a good hymn there follows usually a good sermon; but this is denied me. Nevertheless, continued he, mark the sentence of Gal. i. 8. If any other gospel be preached to you, different from that which we have preached, let him be accursed, though it be by an angel from heaven, or by a Jesuit.’ He then went into the school, acquainted the rector Philip Walter with his grievances and his departure; and commended the youths to him, beseeching him, constantly to set before them the truth of the Evangelical religion. He likewise had his two waggons loaded, under the shouts of the soldiers, and delivered up the keys of the library and sacristy to the fathers of the church, with a short valediction, and ordered the waggons to move on with his wife. In passing through the gate she was stopped, but was finally allowed to proceed. Pastor Williet and the deacon Rippe, walked out of the town, not without sadness, accompanied by hundreds of people. But as the soldiers had indicated to the pastor that their orders were to attack and rob such of the people as would run with the ministers to accompany them, he requested the poor distressed flock to return, who had followed him to the Hohnberg.” On the 6th of December, they began

in Grünberg to collect and burn all Lutheran books and Bibles. The parish church remained closed four whole weeks, until at length a Jesuit came and read mass on the third Advent-Sunday. At first the council, the sworn-men, and those belonging to the army, were obliged to partake of the communion, then the companies, with the women. The result is described by Rippe : "Great apostasy ensued, many were one day Protestant, and the next Popish. On one day they attended the Evangelical doctrine with tears, on the other they went in crowds and procured the confessional shrifts, upon which was written : *fecit professionem fidei N. N.*"

Many other traits descriptive of Lichtenstein's army have been preserved by Ehrhard in his Presbyterianology. The victory of the imperial arms in 1628 was the signal for carrying out the plots, which the Jesuits had long before devised in secret. Thus the religious persecution broke out publicly in Silesia. After Lichtenstein's dragoons had deprived the principalities of Glogau and Sagan of their Evangelical churches, ministers, and school-masters, the lieutenant-general baron Goes undertook the same species of conversion in Schweidnitz, while the captain-general and imperial counsellor, Henry baron Bibran, (an apostate) attempted the like in Jauer. They attacked the Evangelical citizens with soldiers, allowed them to be cruelly tormented and mal-treated, threatened murder and plunder, and compelled them to become Papists, and take shrifts. In a word, the same tragedy was performed in Jauer which had been acted in Glogau, and the inhabitants were also compelled to draw up a recantation. But the declaration,

that they had willingly, and without compulsion, become Catholics was not enough for Bibran, who had even the audacity to require that they should individually make oath that they had not been compelled to embrace the Romanist doctrines. The citizens replied, that they were ready to swear that they had *not* been compelled, if he would previously take his oath that *he* had *not* compelled them. When he returned the recantation, requiring of them to alter certain clauses, in order that he might present it to his Imperial Majesty according to promise, the inhabitants of Jauer kept it back, and sent in its stead a written protestation, wherein they expressly declared 'that recantation to have been extorted from them by force and violence of the soldiery.' And since, continued they, it went against their conscience, and they would also have to answer for the salvation of their posterity, they were thereby desirous of publicly recalling it. The same protestation they sent afterwards to Vienna. On the 29th of January, 1629, the old pastor Adam Hentschel and his colleagues were expelled from the city, after they had suffered great loss of property through the plunder of the soldiers. Because the rector Wagner would not move until he should receive a formal dismissal from the magistrate, additional soldiers were lodged in his house, who destroyed what they could not devour. He, however, endured it all, until two gentlemen of the council brought him his dismissal, and then he departed. When the first disquietude had somewhat subsided, and the dragoons marched away, the inhabitants of Jauer no longer appeared either at the mass, or the Romish communion. Bibran,

therefore, summoned them to the town-hall, and renewed his severity. But as this availed nothing, he ordered the burgomaster (who although an idiot, was an apostate, and therefore judged to be qualified for the office,) to renew the quartering of the soldiers upon those stiff-necked and rebellious people. Coming down from the town-hall about noon, that wicked man was heard to say, with cursing and swearing, that he would not allow his head to rest in quietness until he had brought the Evangelicals to the mass. But when about to enter his house, in stepping over the threshold, he fell backwards into a cellar and broke his neck. The states of Schweidnitz and Jauer sent a report of the brutal licentiousness of the Lichtenstein regiment to Vienna, and the inhabitants of Löwenberg sent an extra delegate to present their complaints there also; but the only answer they received was, that such things were mere warlike excesses, for which the licentious soldiers ought not to be called to account.

The following statement of the conduct of these 'conversion soldiers' is related by Worbs in his history of Sagan:—"Among various other methods of bringing the people to the conviction of the truth of the Popish religion, they prevented the people from sleeping during many days and nights, so that the unfortunate men fell into a kind of stupor, in which they were easily induced to take the confessional shrifts. Some were dragged by the hair to mass and the communion, or were scourged until the flesh dropped from their bodies. Others were led under the gallows and threatened to be hanged; or swords and pistols were pointed at their breast, and they were assured that nothing but apostacy

could save them. Infants six weeks old were put in a corner, and their persecutors, case-hardened against the calls of nature, stood over the beds of the mothers, prohibiting them from quieting the poor little ones for several days, no matter how they cried and moaned and fainted. Some lying ill of painful diseases were tormented until they consented to deny their faith. Even those who had been compelled to apostatize, were mocked in a most cruel manner. At Polish Neustadt, an officer in his boots and spurs, with his sword at his side, stepped forward to the altar, and handed the cup to those unhappy people who deplored the loss of it in the communion.* As there was not wine enough, he advised those communicants, who had received none, to go home and take a draught of beer or milk instead. Many manuscript chronicles afford abundant evidence of the torments employed against those who, as their enemies expressed it, "would not accommodate themselves." In Silesia even now the sentences may be read which were passed by the anti-reformers.

The violence committed at that time may, perhaps, be excused by some from the fact, that the Protestants had on one occasion also used violence in the castle of Prague. It is said, moreover, that this severity was not resorted to merely on

* The history of Silesia likewise shews how the words *sub utraque* were abused. Two officers took a naked infant, holding it up by its legs, and having cut it in two with a sword, they gave it back to the parents, with the words: "here you have it *sub utraque*." Children were especially ill used, when their parents had steadfastly endured the threatening and cruelty of their enemies; for then they were taken and tormented, until their parents abjured the evangelical faith.

account of their religious creed, but as a punishment for their political treachery against Ferdinand. But the Romanists made use of soldiers in many cases, where neither of those alleged crimes could be charged, tormenting the most peaceable inhabitants by armed barbarous converters.

For the sake of comparison we shall add a short account of the manner in which the French Protestants were treated by order of Louis XIV., after the edict given at Nantes by Henry IV. had been revoked:—

“ In August, 1685, the French dragoons arrived in Niort. In that town there were no more than fourteen or fifteen Reformed families, with whom five companies of these dragoons were lodged, who committed the most abominable acts. Four of them were sent into the house of a bookseller's widow, where they threw all the books in a heap, broke and destroyed every thing they found on the premises, and converted the shop into a stable. When the bishop of Rheims arrived in Sedan, he proclaimed to the Reformed of that place, in the name of the king, that they were to renounce their religion, and acknowledge the Roman church. To this they answered, “ that they were ready by the grace of God to die for their religion.” His reply was, “ that they would take care shortly to send them some converters ;” and truly soon after the dragoons arrived, who plundered and burnt the town. The Reformed immediately left the place; more than 300 flying to Maestricht, many of whom lost their wives and children on the way. The fury of the dragoons sent out in France daily increased; they mutilated many who would not embrace their

religion, cutting off their noses and ears ; and those who attempted to escape from their fury, they branded upon the cheek, and sent them to the galleys, while they confined their wives in convents. Among the numerous torments which they inflicted upon the Reformed in France, it is related, as a certain fact, that an individual, after intolerable sufferings and mockings, was placed before a large fire to turn a spit. In the mean time they pierced his sides with their swords, under revilings and scoffings, until the sufferer, no longer able to endure the pain, threw himself upon the fire ; but the soldiers immediately took him out, and said, "Thou shalt not die so soon, dog !" If the Reformed assembled to attend the preaching in desolate and retired places, or about the ruins of churches which had been pulled down, the dragoons fell upon the unfortunate people, killing the preacher and his assistants, and practising every species of cruelty upon men, women, and children. These sons of Belial hanged the aged, plundered towns and villages, and set fire to the ministers' houses. Most of those unhappy men sought to escape their misery by flight ; but they were everywhere taken, some by the guards, others by the dragoons, and chained by their neck, arms, and feet, and so dragged like condemned criminals to the galleys. Moreover, the bodies of those who fell down dead in consequence of beating, were thrown to be devoured by dogs or ravens. A body of eighty of these dragoons took up their quarters with one single man of the Reformed, and while some treated him abominably, the others plundered the house of all they could find. The same unmerciful band bound aged and impotent

people, and stretched them upon burning coals ; some they laid on the ground, bound hand and foot, and after they had poured urine into their throats they stamped upon them with their feet to force out that which they had poured in. Others were left bound for many days to languish of hunger and thirst.

“ To add to the sufferings of the poor Reformed, they tormented their little innocent children most cruelly, in order that their cries might shake the constancy of the parents, and induce them to apostatize. Some were tied to poles, and had burning bricks laid upon their heads, so that their brains and eyes became dried up ; and when after all these diabolical, yet esteemed worthy agents of the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church were still unable to succeed, their madness rose to such a pitch, that the innocent Reformed were hung up in the chimney, and burnt with the fire kept alive beneath by the consumption of religious books. By such cruelties whole provinces were desolated, as most of the inhabitants sought to escape from this tyranny by flight. Hell seemed also to open her abominations, for sad countenances were not tolerated, and even they who sighed were punished. They also who went to the generals and officers, and threw themselves at their feet imploring mercy, were declared rebels. Of some they cut off their noses and ears, and otherwise mutilated their bodies ; to others they hanged heavy stones, and threw them into the sea. Many were shot like wild beasts, and their wives hanged. The soldiers rioted without restraint, publicly violating married and unmarried women, in many cases even unto death. Some pregnant women

were dragged stark naked through the streets to the Popish church, and with their little ones, killed in the porch.

“Two women were summoned before a captain of the dragoons, and accused of having spoken against the king’s commands. After twenty-five soldiers had ill-used them in a most abominable manner, they were stript entirely naked, and placed before a large fire, where they were dragged backwards and forwards, until their life ended. Another had her legs bound with ropes, and was drawn up and down a draw-well, in which a fire had been lighted, until she was suffocated by the steam and smoke. Some were scourged to death; others were hanged up by the legs with their children, or tied by their arms quite naked to trees. Many pined away in the heat of fire, and some had their breasts torn off with pincers. One man, aged 85 years, was torn between horses, and thrown to the ravens as carrion; and those who were beheaded and hanged were numberless.

“Sometimes the conversion-dragoons attained their purpose in consequence of these torments; as in Lyons, where, after many of the inhabitants had fled to Switzerland, the rest, on the arrival of the dragoons on the 23rd of October, 1685, posted up the following declaration at the corners of the streets:—

“‘We, the undersigned, hereby testify and declare, that, in obedience to his Majesty’s edict, as well as to the exhortation given us by the lord archbishop, and in consequence of a general convention, we receive and embrace the catholic-apostolic, Roman religion, because it agrees with the word of

God ; to it we subject and unite ourselves, and in it we desire to live and die.' ”

This may serve as an illustration of that which passed in Bohemia. Oh, how true are the words of Spittler,* when he says, “ Where no Spanish inquisition had been introduced, these bishops and authorities acted as if ambitious to prove how superfluous a Spanish inquisition would have been in their districts. The Roman church has in no country maintained her domination without incredible cruelties, and the shedding of streams of human blood. There was no respect to old age, or learning, or merit acquired in state or church, and the vilest means adopted to obtain converts were considered as sanctified by the merit of good intention.” The end sanctifying the means was in the sixteenth century, the stimulating principle of the apostate church of Rome in her sanguinary proceedings, and so it continues, for, although two centuries and a half have elapsed, the blood of martyrdom repeatedly shed is still crying towards heaven ; and even the most positive proofs of the political benefits necessarily accruing from Christian tolerance have not yet in any respect improved the spirit of the Roman church, neither have the princes subject to her malignant sway taken warning, notwithstanding the dangers to which they have been often exposed by her desolating tyranny.

* Spittler's Sketch of the Hist. of the Christ. Church, p. 378.

CHAPTER V.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORMAL ANTI-REFORMATION COMMISSION IN GENERAL — DISMISSAL OF THE PROTESTANT OFFICERS — SUFFERINGS OF THE NOBILITY.

WE have now arrived at the procedure itself by which the people were driven to apostatize;* and we intend first to give the general state of the matter according to the progress of the anti-reformation, and especially of its increasing strength, and then we intend to relate the particular mode of treatment adopted towards the nobility and those in office, with the inhabitants of the cities, and the country people.

The course of proceeding was, in general, as follows. Imperial commissioners, men of high rank, proceeded from town to town, declaring the Emperor's will, and conducting the whole conversion-

* What was acted at that time the reader may compare with that which is done even in the present day in similar cases. Every one knows that only a few years ago numbers of the inhabitants of Zillerthal in the Tyrol were driven away. Those who would not become Papists were threatened to be anathematized. Dying persons were to recant before the clergyman, or have hell for their portion. The dead were buried like beasts; the tipstaff only with his dog being allowed to be present. The children were compelled to go to Popish schools, where they were taught that they would neither go to the churchyard nor to heaven. No one dared either to employ a Protestant workman, or purchase anything of him. Letters were seized and broken open; meetings were prohibited; and marriages forbidden. Whoever read Evangelical books was thrown into prison.

system. And as it was convenient that they should intend the conversions to be established upon conviction, they found it expedient to bring with them men in the capacity of teachers, who either remained for a certain period or were permanently settled in various places for the purpose of persuading the people. As the Jesuits were most useful in this respect, they were generally employed. But their numbers not being sufficient, Dominicans, and members of other orders were engaged in a similar manner, especially in those places where it was supposed they might succeed with less difficulty in the affair of conversion. This clerical force was accompanied by soldiers, who, with all kinds of torments, were, as has already been described, to make the people pliable and yielding. The business of the commissioners was conducted in the name of the Church, and consisted in expelling the clergy of the utraquists, Lutherans and Calvinists, while the proselyte-makers preached against the so-called heresy, and commended the Popish faith and principles. Their first endeavours were to gain the more wealthy people of each place, in the hope that the others would soon follow their example. When they could not immediately succeed, they used threatenings, and then violence through the instrumentality of the soldiers, who had no fear of punishment. It is said that coercion was, in fact, not intended by the Emperor, and that there was an unwillingness on his part to carry on the work of conversion in the manner pursued in Spain and France, or in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alba, or afterwards when the edict of Nantes was abolished. Therefore, they pretended rather to adopt milder

measures, which in themselves were nevertheless quite severe enough; fines also were imposed, for neglecting to follow the processions, &c. During a time of scarcity in Iglau in Moravia, the bakers were prohibited from selling bread to the Protestants.* As regards the treatment of the Protestant dead, we insert the following from Holyk.

“In the present day the bodies of those are refused burial, of whom there is the slightest suspicion of their having been Evangelical. An honourable funeral is also denied to those who, a week or two before their death, had not confessed to a Popish priest, or had taken the communion in both species, and such are carried away without tolling of the bell and singing. No one dares even to follow or remove them out of the house, as had been usually done by their friends.”

In the Bohemian Apology, printed at Prague in 1619, there are several examples mentioned of this kind, one of them is, that the abbot of Braunau refused to bury in the churchyard the bodies of honest and well deserving people who had lived to an advanced age, and their friends were obliged to deposit them in their gardens, or near the highways in the fields, like vagabonds and thieves. The wife of an honourable man, Matthias Tholden, who died in her 70th year, remained three months unburied in her own house, because the abbot would not allow her to be interred. But when Tholden's two sons had obtained permission from the Bohemian exchequer to bury her, and that favour had been reported to the abbot, he had them both imprisoned, until the younger partook of the communion and the

* In 1686 the millers and bakers of France were also prohibited from selling bread to Protestants.

father and husband of the dead matron were obliged to abscond until all was settled. The wife of a very respectable man of that place died, and was buried in consecrated ground. Soon after her husband and their son were summoned to appear in the Bohemian chancery, where the following punishment was pronounced: "Inasmuch as they have been rebellious and disobedient to their superiors, they are committed to the White tower." This White tower in the castle of Prague contains the closest and severest of all prisons. Notwithstanding their request, no answer was made to them, as to the crime for which they were committed, and every apology was ineffectual. There they remained ten weeks, with another who had petitioned the abbot in their favour. After much intercession they were liberated, but not without first giving a note of hand by which they bound themselves to pay 3000 schock ! They had moreover to pay a large amount to the commander of the castle, besides other sums amounting to 300 dollars. Two of their neighbours and friends were to remain prisoners for life, because their sons had assisted in singing and ringing the bells during that funeral, though it could not be proved ; and they were only to be liberated on the condition that their sons, who had escaped, should be apprehended. They remained six months in prison, and were then discharged on the payment of a very heavy fine. If any one died, it required much solicitation before permission could be obtained for carrying out the body to burial, and that only in the meanest place, or even under a gallows. It was considered a very high favour if one could finally obtain permission to be buried in a decent place, as, for example, in a garden,

or near a churchyard. Such permission only those could obtain who were respectable, and of the higher class, and able to pay down a tolerable sum of money. "These and numerous other facts happened in my own native country (says Holyk); indeed, I have myself seen many citizens, men and women, some of whom were my own relatives, buried in waste grounds, between thorn-bushes and hedges, among whom lies my own beloved mother; and that only out of great favour on the part of the dean, who before had threatened us with the Bohemian chancery; but my father quickly prevented him with money and good words, and finally prevailed so far with him that he stayed the complaint, and allowed my dear mother to rest in peace."

In this manner, say the authors of the Book of Persecutions, "while the Papists poured forth their hatred upon dying Christians, they tormented the living with the smell of the corpses, in order to discourage them in their firmness. Such was the case with the pious John Matthiades Ruslenus, minister of St. Barbara in Kuttenberg. After his return from exile he died on the 4th of December, 1625. The archdeacon Appianus would not allow his body to be buried, and neither entreaty nor money could induce him to alter his purpose. At length, after eight days, some good people buried the body secretly; and the archdeacon searched in vain for the authors of that pretended crime, threatening them with punishment of death. Soon after the like service of love was shewn to the book-binder, Adam Howorka. His body was refused interment, because his son had been baptized elsewhere. He was, nevertheless, buried without

the permission of the archdeacon, who when he knew it was ready to burst with vexation."

The same authors give the following account of the establishment of the anti-reformation commission :—

" Certain Jesuits and monks were first appointed, to whom some nobleman was added. These were to travel throughout every district, city, and village, to defame the heretical doctrines, and recommend and introduce the Romish worship, to invite the respectable to apostacy by promises of honourable offices and riches, and to gain the rest by example, or, if needs be, by threats. A sudden proscription was afterwards passed against the higher ranks, and a formal anti-reformation commission was appointed in 1627. The members of that commission were cardinal Harrach, bishop of Prague; the abbot of Strahow;* Jaroslaw Borzita, count of Martinitz-Smeczansky, Frederic Tallenberg, and Christopher Wratisslaw.† These men were entrusted with the means of curbing the so-called apostacy in our country. But they would not undertake the administration of it without unlimited power being given them; so that no one, not even the Emperor himself, was to have liberty of interfering with whatever they decreed. This court of reformation was established for Bohemia as the inquisition was for Spain. From this office the emigrants had to take their passports, and before obtaining them they were first to endure various punishments and remonstrances from the Jesuits.

* Caspar Questenberg.

† Of Mitrowitz. Pelzel, ii. 753, mentions also Valerianus Magnus of the Capuchins. It is not surprising that Martinitz should cordially hate the Protestants.

If one refused to apostatize, they asked him whether he would not at least receive instruction. If he said *yes*, they appointed a day when he should appear. One who had thus far yielded was lost ; for a priest was immediately appointed, who daily teased him. Many put up with that annoyance, in order to gain time for the better arrangement of their affairs. But when the term was expired, and they declared that their conviction was not altered, they were accused of mocking his Imperial Majesty, and their troubles were renewed. Their only consolation was such words as are found in 1 Peter, iii. 16, 17. Those passages of scripture became known to them all ; for the more the Bible was prohibited, the more anxiously it was read ; and the more consolation was needed, the more people sought it in the sacred scriptures, where alone it was to be found.

“ In order to make sure of the people partially gained to Romanism by persuasion or compulsion, and thus make a parade of the effects of their opposition to Protestantism, they required of them public expressions and actions testifying their renunciation, and renewed and explicit confessions. The confession of faith which was required of the so-called converts had indeed been settled in the Council of Trent in 1564 ; but permission was also allowed for something special to be inserted in it, according to the necessity of the case, which is evident from the *sic et sic* in the formulas.*

* The license allowed to the converter to enlarge the formula given at Trent, and to add *sic et sic*, sufficiently explains how they dared venture not strictly to abide by the confession of Trent, but to torment the people with additional contrarieties. So much for the tortuous uniformity of Popery.

We have before us a series of prescribed confessions required to be orally made by the converts in 1631, as a remarkable sign of those times. A man well experienced, who allowed himself to be induced by compulsion to pronounce it, and afterwards repented, brought with him a copy of what he had confessed, on his escape to Lusatia. From this it appears that they first declared, at the request of the fathers, "that they turned from the way of error and false heretical teaching to the way of truth, not by compulsion, but from a *free good will* ; from love to their dear superiors, and in consequence of the assiduous and pious labours and exertions of the reverend fathers ; moreover, that they ought to render obedience to the Pope, and not read the Bible unrestrictedly ; that they did admit the doctrines of purgatory, the mass, and the communion in *one* kind, and reject the communion in both kinds as heretical and abominable ; that adoration ought to be paid to Mary, relics, and images, and that one holy mass is more available than one hundred Lutheran sermons." — Thus, in every way they were obliged to speak against their former creed. The second point, according to those papers, was the execration, which begins thus :— "Whereas the Roman Catholic religion is in all points holy, pure, ancient, heavenly, and divine, and the heretical, on the contrary, is false, erroneous, accursed, and devilish : we execrate all those who have led us to that impure doctrine, and taught us the same, and excited suspicion against that of the Roman Catholic church, &c." It is well known that this harsh proceeding is now denied by the Papists, upon the ground, that the confession of

Trent was the alone authorized one, and that such uncouth creeds would only have turned them *from* Romanism; but how happens it that in so many different places there are still traces of the like formulas to be found?

Then follows an oath in which the converts swear no longer to acknowledge *utraquism*; to oppose everywhere the Evangelical doctrine; in no wise to turn from the Papal creed; to warn their children against the former; *always to flee the cup and the Bible*. The conclusion will shew how concerned the converters were to be able to give proofs to their superiors that all had been according to the will of the Emperor, *without compulsion*. It is there repeated: "We swear with a good will, good understanding, good conscience, after a long, ardent desire; *without compulsion*, but rather with a free will, not for the sake of pleasing any one, nor from any interested motive, that we renounce and execrate the Evangelical doctrine in which we were born and bred, and gladly embrace the Catholic religion as the only one wherein is salvation." A fourth point, was the confirmation; on which occasion, in order to shew that they had renounced *utraquism*, they symbolically trampled upon the cup, and confessed its sin; then they received the shrift, so frequently alluded to, but not with so much irregularity and confusion. The following is the formula of the confession:—"I, poor and miserable sinner, acknowledge and confess to you, my reverend confessor, in the place of God and the blessed Virgin Mary, and all saints, that I have for a long time adhered to the heretical doctrine, and have lived in great error, and gone

likewise to the heretical sacrament,* have eaten bad bread, and drunken bad wine. But now abstain from it in all my future life, and curse and persecute it, and never consent to it. May God, with the immaculate Virgin Mary and all the saints, help me thus to do."

What we have extracted from the papers alluded to, is questioned by the Romanist party, who pretend to doubt that such things were required of converts. We believe that Romanists of the present day have cause to *wish* that those accounts were groundless, and that the proceedings had not been quite so harsh. They who deny it must have read little of the history of those times, otherwise they would have met everywhere with the like expressions. It is objected, with the usual sophistry of the Romanists, that there was but one simple formula of the confession of the council of Trent, and that alterations were prohibited under pain of excommunication. But can an existing prohibition and threatening prove that a thing did not take place? If so, one might deny what our first parents did in Paradise, because it had been prohibited under pain of death. In modern times some have been shocked at the idea of trampling upon the cup. But this was not done with Popish, but wooden Hussitish or Calvinistic cups, or others devoted to the purpose; the fact, besides, is well known, and has been proved in the accounts already given in this work. The opponents lean chiefly upon this, that the actual *use* of those formulas cannot be proved. This is cer-

* At Reisse, in Silesia, it was declared from the pulpit, that whoever took the sacrament with the Evangelicals in both kinds received the very devil himself. *Apology*, 240.

tainly impossible for us to do, since we have no records of the anti-reformation in our hands; but those formulas so well agree with the proceedings of that time, that we cannot doubt their use. This only we are ready to admit, that those formulas may possibly not have been in general use; and that some immoderately zealous anti-reformers may have used them less cautiously than others of their brethren in certain places for the common people. The idea that the Jesuits so used them is nothing wonderful since they were perfect masters in the art of anti-reforming. To confirm the truth of the accounts of such proceedings we shall adduce the following description of a papal church-penance.*

“The apostate is led from the place of confinement to the appointed church, as a sinner of the greatest turpitude, with a black coloured candle in his hand, and in the presence of many hundreds of spectators previously made acquainted with the circumstance. He is then placed before the great altar, and there upon his knees made to abjure the heresy he had embraced, *by many very severe expressions and invectives*, which are read to him by the priest. He is also required to kick away with his feet a wooden chalice prepared for the purpose, and promise fidelity to the so-called true Roman Catholic religion. It is not uncommon for such a sinner to be beaten by the priest with a rod, upon his bare shoulders, by which he is made to suffer for his sin of heresy, and is discouraged from future apostacy. Finally he is to go to confession without delay, and take the communion *sub una*, as a pledge, that he will in future

* From Salig's history of the Augsburg confession, p. 895.

be careful not to fall again into the heinous sin of apostacy. Some tell us, who themselves were induced to undergo this church-penance in order to escape from their protracted confinement, that they suffered intense anxiety and torment of conscience during the ceremony, and great remorse long after, for having out of cowardice and fear of men acted contrary to the conviction of their minds. That anxiety, and the so-called confirmation, have the most fearful effect upon those Bohemians who have some knowledge of the word of God ; wherefore they are very careful to avoid both. The church-penance they cannot always very well escape, since it is generally preceded by imprisonment ; for they must choose perpetual confinement, or ill-treatment, which is indeed considered more praiseworthy and decent than a liberty bought with the defilement of conscience, by abjuring the truth once acknowledged and cherished ; or, as it often happens, by execrating it. Sometimes they are even obliged to curse their heretical, absconded, or already defunct parents, which must certainly be very painful to a mind that retains the least degree of ingenuousness."

" But many, who had not been arrested, having previously been informed that the bishop would come to perform that ceremony, escaped for the purpose of avoiding the confirmation ; by which they firmly believed they should receive the mark of the apocalyptic beast ; indeed it was so intolerable to them, that several hundreds of families fled from Bohemia to the neighbouring districts ; therefore that ceremony is now more sparingly performed, lest the country should be entirely cleared of its inhabitants."

In the Bohemian Evangelical Palm-tree,* the following accounts are given by eye-witnesses:—

“In and around Landskron, belonging to the Lichtenstein domain, are several secret Hussites, who, when discovered, are very severely treated. During the general absolution or indulgence, which takes place in that part of the country, several imprisoned Protestants are led about in their chains and fetters, and after being publicly whipped, are again taken to their dungeons. This is no doubt intended to act as a warning and a terror to those secret Hussites, who are not yet denounced. It has frequently happened that a large number of imprisoned Protestants have been brought to the public courts of justice, where they were all condemned to death, then led to the graves already prepared for their bodies, as though about to be publicly executed; and all this to give them a foretaste of death, and thus induce them to apostatize. For immediately afterwards they are condemned to imprisonment for life. The terror of death, and the great fright of such a scene, once caused the death of a man, and of a woman in pregnancy. Those who die in this manner are, moreover, not allowed an honourable burial in the churchyard, however respectable and virtuous they may formerly have been. There are even some Romanists in Bohemia who evince their displeasure at such proceedings; but they can do nothing in the matter, the clergy having the sole control.” This continued even to the middle of the 18th century, prior to the reign of Joseph II.

* Simlar's collection of ancient and modern elucidations of church history, vol. II. part 3, p. 853—974, § 7. Note d.

Thus then we have described the chief measures to which the Romanists began to have recourse for the total suppression of Protestant doctrines, after the painful occurrences of 1621. Though the non-catholic churches were now closed, all the Protestant clergy dismissed and expelled, and Jesuitical cunning and military violence were every where at work for the fulfilment of Ferdinand's wishes, it was still found that the labour of conversion was far more difficult than had been anticipated, and that uniformity could only be effected by the greatest sacrifices, in the loss of many of the most learned and the most brave inhabitants of the country. They did not proceed at once to these extremes, which during 1622 and 1623 were only partially adopted; but from 1624* to 1627 they took those determined and severe steps, which for many years caused inward struggles, painful uncertainty and indecision, fear and anxiety, anguish and terror to the minds of all the inhabitants favourably disposed towards Protestantism. Of these years we shall therefore have to speak more particularly.

After the expulsion of the Protestant clergy and the professors at Prague in 1622, they began to use a constantly increasing severity. According to Pelzel, "the new archbishop of Prague, Ernst Harrach,† and the rest of the prelates, but especially

* In this year the Wittemberg Theological faculty addressed a printed exhortation to the oppressed Bohemians, of which Dr. Balthasar Meisner is said to have been the author.

† After the death of Lohelius, the chapter of Prague held several consultations about the election of a new archbishop. In those times they were desirous of having a man who could be powerfully active in the extirpation of heresy, and the restoration of the Popish religion, and they elected Ernst Adalbert baron Harrach, son of the imperial privy-counsellor,

the Jesuits, were constantly urging that the whole of Bohemia should again be brought within the pale of the church; and they engaged the assistance of the papal nuncio, who resided at Vienna, and through him sent repeated petitions to the Emperor." Ferdinand therefore issued edicts for the immediate expulsion of the Protestant clergy. These edicts were sent to the archbishop, and to Prince Lichtenstein, on July 24th, and September 25th, 1623, and were afterwards repeated on the 27th of April, and the 18th of May, in the following year. At last the Emperor entirely revoked the toleration formerly established in Bohemia, and prohibited all religious worship that was not according to the Romish church; first in Prague, and then throughout the whole country. One edict succeeded another, urging the archbishop of Prague, (who was made cardinal the year following) and the governor, Prince Lichtenstein, to extirpate all non-catholic religious systems, and to introduce the ceremonies of the Papal church. But above all Ferdinand commanded that none but Romanists should enjoy the privilege of citizenship, or be permitted to carry on trade in any town of the kingdom; and by another edict (on the 24th of March), that all Protestants should be driven out of the towns. He further commanded that Romanists alone should be allowed to marry. As some Protestant preachers were still concealed in the country, and the Emperor was informed of it by the archbishop,

Karl Harrach,} who was at the time in Rome as chamberlain to Pope Gregory XV. He was of a celebrated family, not more than twenty-four years old, handsome, and of a stately figure, and possessed of great abilities. See Pessina, 390.

a strict order was soon after issued to seize them wherever they could be found, without regard to the parties by whom they might be sheltered, and to expel them from the country. All which was punctually executed; as has already been described in the foregoing pages. The Protestant churches were given to monks of various orders; who, among other allurements, endeavoured to entice the people into their churches, and to their worship, by introducing instrumental music at masses; and many ran thither rather to hear a fine singer or a violin than to attend to their worship. For those Protestants, who had feigned themselves Romanists, it was an attractive motive for going to church, as they had never heard the like in their former services. This church-music has been retained in the cloister chapels to this day, and in many churches is little inferior to the Italian opera.

In 1624 the district governors published in all towns, villages, and market-places, the following stringent directions. "1. All those who are unwilling to embrace the Roman religion, and so to become of the same religion with his Majesty, are prohibited from all business, trade, commerce, &c.—2. No one shall allow sermons to be preached, or baptisms and marriages to take place in his house, under a fine of 100 dollars, or imprisonment for six months. Also, whoever retains an Evangelical preacher in his house, shall forfeit his estates with his life.—3. The true Roman priest is not to accompany with the usual ceremonies, a deceased Protestant to the burial ground, but the church and burial fees he shall, nevertheless, receive.—4. Whoever labours, transacts business, or sells anything on holy or saints' days, shall be imprisoned, and pay a fine of

ten guilders.—5. Any person found in a public-house during the time of mass, shall be imprisoned and detained until he pays a fine of ten guilders ; and the host shall pay double that sum.—6. Those who ridicule a priest, his sermon, words, or gestures, and thus mock the Romish worship, and those who permit heretical worship to be celebrated in their houses, shall be banished, and their estates shall be confiscated.—7. Whoever shall eat meat on Fridays and Saturdays without permission of the archbishop, shall pay a fine of ten guilders.—8. As often as the father of a family shall absent himself from mass on Sundays and holidays, he shall give, if rich, four pounds, and if poor, two pounds of wax candles to the church.—9. A list shall be kept of the young people in all the towns and villages ; and whoever has placed his sons in Protestant schools, shall withdraw them before the festival of All-Souls, otherwise the rich shall pay fifty, and the poor thirty guilders fine.—10. Whoever instructs the young people at home secretly, shall forfeit all his property, and he himself shall be ejected from the town by the beadle.—11. No will shall be valid, unless the testator be a Romanist ; heretics shall not even have liberty to make a will.—12. No young people, whether orphans or otherwise, shall henceforth be instructed in any art or trade, unless they have previously learned the Roman catechism.—13. Whoever speaks or sings indecent words of God, the Holy Virgin, and the saints, or of the church ceremonies, and of the glorious house of Austria, the same shall, without mercy, forfeit his estates and his life.—14. Those who have, to the prejudice of the Roman religion, any painting on or in their houses, shall immediately efface the same, or pay a

fine of thirty guilders: also if similar things be carved or painted on gates, churches, or other public places, they shall be broken down or effaced, and the crucifixion, or some other ancient monument shall be substituted.—15. If the poor in the work-houses be not converted by All-Saints this year, they shall be ejected, and afterwards none but Romanists shall be admitted, Hereby will be fulfilled the unchangeable will of His Imperial Majesty.”

It may easily be imagined how the comprehensive severity, unsparing rigour, and exclusiveness of these enactments must have disturbed, oppressed, and often overwhelmed the minds of the people. Soon afterwards they commenced the anti-reformation; and first of all in the district of Prague. They went from house to house, and asked every man, woman, servant, &c. four questions: 1. “Were you born a Catholic?” 2. “Have you become a Catholic?” 3. “Do you promise to become a Catholic?” 4. “Will you by no means become a Catholic?” The answer of each individual was noted down. When they found that the number of those who would not become Catholics, much exceeded the rest, they were afraid of using general compulsory means, lest they might occasion a revolt. They, therefore, determined to banish the Protestants by degrees. The commencement was made in Prague with four respectable citizens. These were John Theodore Sixtus, John Peldrzmowsky, Abraham Engel, and Jacob Heyden. They were permitted previously to sell their houses, estates, and other property, and even to take some moveables with them. Then fifty and seventy citizens, with their wives and children, were banished at a time. The rich fled from the town; the

poor remained and many Romanised. After this the work of conversion was carried on in other towns, but with greater severity. Thus, in the year 1624, all toleration was revoked, all religious liberty destroyed, all Protestant worship prohibited, every Evangelical custom extirpated, and the few clergymen who yet remained in the country were eagerly sought for and expelled.

The same year was also very decisive in Upper Austria. Three parts of this province were already Protestant, and for forty years the Popish procession with the host had not been witnessed in Linz. But in 1624 the preachers and schoolmasters of that country were driven away, and the inhabitants forced to attend the Popish church; but at home they quietly read their Bibles, and enjoyed a purer spiritual nourishment.

In this year also the people, but especially the clergy, as we have already stated, were frequently ill-treated by the soldiers; and they considered it a special grace and favour if they were not burned, or otherwise tormented to death, but only imprisoned for a shorter or longer period. On the subject of burning to death, the bishop of Breslau, Jodocus of Rosenberg said at the time:—"As the maggots will congregate in the half-roasted meat, so will the heretics increase by the burning of their fellow believers. The people will more easily be turned from their errors if their teachers are banished; when they do not know what is to become of them, they will soon return and be obliged to comply."

In 1625 orders were repeatedly issued that all Bohemians must become Romanists; that all the

Evangelicals should be deprived of every privilege; that concealed heretical clergymen should be punished most severely; and that large rewards should be given to those who would betray them.

In 1626 they published fresh edicts against the Protestants more stringent than the former; and with many people they accomplished the purpose for which they were issued. But 1627 was the year in which they intended to give as it were the finishing stroke, and to annihilate every remnant of Protestantism; which they had hitherto been unable to accomplish, even in Prague. This is the year inscribed on a monument in Carlsbad, as a memorial of the anti-reformation. In the same year Ferdinand confirmed the privileges of the Bohemians, except the letters patent of Rudolph, which were, of course, alleged to have been the cause of every commotion.

At this period one severe edict followed another; but the most important was that of the 31st of July (the memorial day of Ignatius Loyola). Its contents are thus given by Holyk:—"Therefore we cannot conscientiously permit, that there should be found, within six months, any one in the lower, much less in the higher classes, who shall not have embraced the very holy and only saving Roman Catholic faith. And that there may be no lack of such people who can instruct in so salutary a work, we have, from a godly determination, appointed and provided for that purpose, certain governors and commissioners, from the clergy as well as from the laity. Wherefore we, in our paternal care for the welfare of this realm, inform and exhort every one by this our royal mandate, that all and every one should, for their temporal and

spiritual welfare, be diligent in taking instructions from the above-named commissioners of the reformation, and thus be obedient to our gracious will ; whoever shall not have complied with our will within six months, and not be of one faith with us, the same shall not be permitted to remain in the country, much less enjoy his property. For we are entirely resolved that all rebellious and obstinate people shall sell their property to the Catholics, and quit this country at the expiration of the specified time, and never again be permitted to return, unless they become Catholics."

Thus both high and low had banishment announced to them ; the ruler of the country always imagining that he was very lenient and mild in his punishments, and that with the people's love for their country, they would, in order to remain therein, easily be converted to Romanism by such a proceeding. He believed he was providing for the good of his subjects ; heresy being, in his opinion, the cause of all misery, confusion, discord, and misfortune. How great must have been the consternation of the yet numerous Protestants ! What a struggle was there now between the spirit and the flesh, between conscience and the seeming duty of a subject ! Many immediately determined to sacrifice their temporal goods, and confiding in God, depart the country. Some wavered at the thought of wife and children being reduced to poverty, and hesitated to abandon their wealth and honours ; others, again, soon terminated the affair, by purchasing from the Popish priests some mass tickets, and testimonials of having taken the communion *sub una*, and then they were safe. The clergy

occasionally also facilitated apostacy; for if any one opposed reason to Popish doctrines, some priests, who were not very scrupulous in the affair, would say: "Believe for the future whatever you please, only be obedient to the church, and acknowledge the Pope, because that is necessary for unity; the Emperor would be very sorry that men of the noblest and most distinguished families should abandon the country in such thoughtlessness!"

This wavering of the people, arising from fear and indecision, is also mentioned by Balbin, in his account of the Jesuit Wenzel Pillar, which distinguished man, who was highly esteemed at Olmütz, had now, when the Romanists particularly needed men of genius, been appointed to the Salvator church of Prague. "At that time (says Balbin) the population of Prague was wavering. The so-called preachers had just been expelled, and many inhabitants of the town were inclined either to follow their ministers, or secretly to retain their heretical principles; but the words of this eloquent man proved their salvation, and many who by emigration would not only have lost their temporal fortune, but also have suffered shipwreck in their souls, were brought by him into the harbour of safety."

Holyk describes the effects of those severe edicts in the following manner: "There were to be seen wonderful vacillation of mind, and various people acting in various ways. Those who intended to be steadfast in the fear of God, went at once into misery (*i. e.* exile); others tormented themselves, by wavering from one side to the other, seeking for shelter in different subterfuges, and by sup-

plicating and petitioning the Emperor* that the edict might be altered, or the time prolonged. But neither excuse, nor entreaty, nor sickness, nor anything else, could circumvent the cunning and craft of the Jesuits. Hence it happened that all who were anxious for the safety of their souls at once departed, many of whom are yet dispersed hither and thither at this moment (1673). Notwithstanding all this the church of God could not wholly be annihilated; for the people still met secretly in the gardens, or on the mountains, in the forests, and even in the houses, and had also some of their ministers concealed. And though the blood-hounds were well aware of this, they were unable to get them into their clutches, notwithstanding the various means they used, and the numerous laws and edicts which were published against them. The anti-reformation was therefore zealously continued, both among the nobility, and among the people in general."

Although under such grievous circumstances, there were many who yielded, not having strength of mind sufficient to forsake their homes rather than their convictions; the number was still very great of those who left Bohemia, seeking another home,—and God blessed them in a foreign land. The principal emigrations took place during the years 1623 and 1628, immediately after the chief attacks of the Popish power. It is calculated that about 36,000 families fled at various times into Lusatia (which was at the time mortgaged to Prince John George of Saxony, the defender of the Protestants),

* Of course always in vain, for Ferdinand's will was irrevocable, his will being that of his father-confessor Lamormain, and the Papal nuncio Caraffa, who constantly exhorted him to firmness.

Misia, Silesia, (where severe persecutions took place some years afterwards), Brandenburg, Holland, Prussia, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Transylvania, consisting of people of every rank, age, and sex. Those families which had already been Protestant for several generations, were no doubt among the most faithful. One of their anxious cares was that their children should prove as steadfast as they themselves had been, and the dying husband would therefore expressly exhort his survivors to do everything to preserve their children from being led astray. There were also cases in which the parents, feigning submission, retained and propagated their Protestantism, but whose children and grandchildren afterwards emigrated even until the year 1690.* But we shall speak more fully of emigration hereafter.

In 1629 the Protestants were once more filled with the greatest consternation. For not only did the Bohemians constantly hear of the cruelties which the Lichtenstein dragoons were practising in Silesia, (in Glogau, Sagan, Schweidnitz, and especially in Jauer), but Ferdinand, in the height of his fortune, published at Vienna on the 6th of March, 1629, the Edict of Restitution, to the great joy of the Jesuits, who called it an "Instrumentum sanctum." It had been concocted in their council, and was intended for the death-warrant of Protestant Germany. For a long time they had been at work on this subject in Rome, and in other Popish cabinets, and they entertained the hope that *now* Protestantism should receive its *death-blow*. According to this

* As was the case with the author's family, whose emigration had been prevented by imprisonment.

edict, all immediate institutes and church estates, of which the Protestants had taken possession since the Passau treaty of 1555, were to be restored to the Romanists, and all mediate institutes which the Protestants secularized against the clerical proviso, were again to be supplied with Popish bishops, and curates; all the Reformed and others who were not adherents of the genuine Augsburg confession, were to be excluded from the religious peace; all Lutherans were to be banished from the Papal countries, and no longer to enjoy the protection of government; and Protestant subjects of Popish princes were to be brought to Romanism, without being allowed the liberty of complaining. This edict had already been enforced by the secular power at Augsburg, Ulm, Kaufbevern, and Ratisbon; when Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden came to the rescue of the oppressed German Protestants, and the contemplated severity of their enemies could not be accomplished. The troubles in Bohemia were consequently, at the same time, greatly lessened. But no country connected with Bohemia was more fortunate than Lusatia; being pledged to a Protestant protector, John George I. of Saxony, the Lichtenstein dragoons, and the Jesuits dared not invade it; and this province became the place of *refuge* to numerous exiles.

Before we speak of emigration itself, we must give, besides the above mentioned general account of the melancholy state of affairs in Bohemia, several detailed statements, which will shew how it especially fared with the *officers*, the *nobility*, the *towns*, and the *people in the country*.

The Protestant officers were at once threatened

with dismissal, in the expectation, of course, that they would leave their pretended darkness and come to the light of Romanism. But as it was no doubt a difficult matter to dismiss them all, and to find at once such Romanists as were capable of supplying their places, they proceeded very slowly with this change, so that even in the year 1631 it was not entirely accomplished. In Prague it was of course undertaken in the very beginning of the anti-reformation. There all the Protestant counsellors were dismissed in 1622, and their places supplied by Romanists; for after the expulsion of the clergy, they turned to the secular officers and proceeded in such a manner as to detain them with the so-called 'Pardon,' which was nothing but imprisonment or torture. Some then, who expected to obtain great riches, yielded, listening to the persuasions of a certain doctor, (Esaias Novenaar, Proskowsky Krzemiczka), and sacrificed the treasure of a good conscience. Others, a thousandfold more numerous, remained faithful to their conscience, and to God.

The sufferings of the Protestant nobility deserve a more particular description. The execution of the most distinguished among them, who had ventured to oppose Ferdinand, has already been noticed. There we have also given a statement of the other punishments which were decreed against them, especially the confiscation of their estates. But what was principally required of them may be seen from the frequently cited "*Synodus Pragensis*." There it is said: "Of all things which the Catholic barons and noblemen have to observe in the government of their subjects, the chief is, that the *Catholic* religion be established and propagated

in all places subject to their dominion.* Therefore we exhort them all in the Lord, and adjure them by the mercy of Jesus Christ, to see that their heretical subjects are brought with due care, and the especial fear of God unto reflection, and into the bosom of the holy mother church. If these Catholic barons and noblemen have any heretics among their domestic servants, they must use all diligence in bringing them to Catholicism, and cause them to continue in it." But in 1627, when still greater severity was exercised towards the yet existing Protestantism, Pelzel tells us, "the command of the Emperor was also announced to the nobility, by a public edict that his Majesty would have none other subjects in Bohemia than Catholics, that all those, therefore, who would not return to the Roman church, should sell their estates within six months to the Catholics, and go elsewhere." Many, therefore, forsook their religion that they might remain in their native country; but the greater part, and, indeed, the richest of them, emigrated with their property into the countries adjacent. Of the treatment of the nobility in those years of terror, Holyk writes thus :—"Though they do not proceed by corporal punishment and close confinement, with the rich and noble, they are not altogether spared, and they have invented means by which they may plague them, without subjecting them to bodily torments. This is done by either billeting on them numerous soldiers, or by demanding heavy contributions and

* They were by no means to have what the Pope tolerated even among the United Greeks, viz. : divine service in the vernacular tongue, the communion cup, and married priests—three points which were recognized in the earlier centuries.

gifts, or finally by confiscation, if they either cannot or will not give as much as is demanded ; and then they are obliged to quit their homes and go into a miserable exile. Ask the old as well as the new-town of Prague, ask the beautiful towns of Iglau, Olmütz, Königingrätz, and many others, great and small, ask them how many hundred beautiful houses have been therein destroyed. The Jesuits alone have demolished many as large as castles, and in their places erected "Collegia et Seminararia !" I have seen how they acted with the houses which they demolished in the new-town ; I have seen also how they broke down the finest mansions, with towers attached to them, in Königingrätz ; and how the monks have, in various places, torn down beautiful dwellings and caused their holes and corners of iniquity to be built in their stead. Among others the fraternity of the Dominicans demolished a house near St. Giles's, in the old-town, with so much impetuosity, that the scene was perfectly similar to that of devouring wolves falling upon their prey. For several years they were unable to obtain possession of this house, because it was privileged, and they had, therefore, made repeated applications to the Emperor for it. At length, being unable to advance a just claim, they raised a report that the house was only inhabited by lewd women and men of bad character, and that the owner thereof continued inwardly an old heretic ; and thus they at last obtained their desire. It was, indeed, lamentable to behold the poor inhabitants stand before the building with weeping eyes, and in great misery, witnessing its demolition, even before they had entirely removed their goods. They

cried aloud : ‘ O miserable and wretched beings that we are ! whither shall we now betake ourselves ? The most pitiable of all was the landlord, who owing to weakness, and his great age, could scarcely escape from the falling materials, but who was yet compelled to go by their taunting exclamations : ‘ Look, look, this is another old dog, and heretic, away with him, away ! ’ And the things which they did in one place, they have, no doubt, practised also, even to a greater degree, in others, where they had more power. Those who are desirous to know how the higher classes fared, need but to visit any part of Bohemia or Moravia, and ask to whom belongs this fine castle, this village, these fields, these vineyards, &c. ? the answer will be, to the Jesuits, but formerly it belonged to such a count, baron, or nobleman. Every pious christian may imagine how miserable and sorrowful must have been the condition of Bohemia, when the inhabitants were thus tormented, expelled from their estates, and driven from their homes ; entirely on account of the Evangelical religion ! ’

The proceedings against the previously spared Protestant noblemen, and their banishments are thus described in the “ Book of Persecutions.”

“ As our enemies became daily more powerful by their conquests and success, it soon appeared even beyond their expectation, that the Protestant noblemen of the realm might altogether, and at once, be banished from the country ; for in the adjacent parts of Germany, the king of Denmark, Mansfeld, the Duke of Weimar, and others were now overpowered. A general depression of spirits was the consequence, and many forsook the Evangelical

faith. On the 31st of July, 1627, the Jesuits, who were the principal authors of all that happened, purposely choosing the day of Ignatius Loyola, the Emperor issued a solemn mandate, wherein it was declared, that heresy alone had been the cause of the numerous misfortunes which had befallen the once happy Bohemia, and of the discord among the people themselves, as well as between them and their superiors, and consequently that the punishments of God could not fail to overtake the country."

Those who were sincerely and steadfastly pious, at once prepared for exile. Others attempted to deceive both the Emperor and the Pope, by purchasing from the priests false testimonials, to the effect that they had made confession, and taken the communion according to the rites of the Catholic church. Some, indeed, succeeded in deceiving the commissioners by such purchased confessional tickets, and thus, by a feigned apostacy, escaped from banishment. But Lorenz Nizbursky, priest of St. Albert, in the new-town of Prague, who had carried on this spiritual traffic too openly, and who had amassed an immense sum by the sale of such tickets, was at last betrayed and arrested, with upwards of a hundred citizens of Prague. They were all accused of sacrilege and high treason, and both the priest and the citizens were condemned to death. The citizens, however, saved their lives by paying a heavy fine, and by a real transition to the Roman church; but the false priest was deprived of his priesthood, and beheaded in the market-place, on the 7th of April, 1631.

The enemies no sooner observed the effect, which the first announcement of banishment produced on

the minds of the people, than, hoping that many, in the course of time, would either be wrecked on the cliffs of despair, or settle on the sand-banks of doubt, importuned the Emperor to prolong the respite for another half year. A new decree, dated December 6, 1627, was therefore published, in which the people were permitted to remain a longer period in their native country, but, at the same time, they were called upon more peremptorily than ever, partly by promises, and partly by threats, to embrace the Papal religion. Banishment was now also extended to widows; but minors, whether their mothers were living or not, were excepted, because it had been decreed that these should be placed under the guardianship and instruction of Romanists, or confined in monasteries. Great was the sighing and weeping, when the children of the nobility, in consequence of this edict, were forcibly torn from the bosom of their mothers, and other relatives, and carried to the Jesuitical colleges or monasteries; their estates also were taken from their lawful guardians, and placed under the administration of Romanists.

Nor can we leave unnoticed the cunning flattery wherewith the priests beguiled the less cautious of the people; for as often as they met with one who knew well the grounds of his faith, they allowed him to adhere in many points to his belief, even to the article of justification by faith. They said that the principal object was obedience to the church, and acknowledgment of the Pope as the visible head thereof; for this was indispensable even to good order. The unsuspecting and unthinking people, therefore, imagined that they were not forced to

another religion, and that they might easily promise an external obedience without violating their conscience. Whenever, also, these priests saw one of a noble family, who was either the last, or had but few more of his race, they repeatedly assured him, that the Emperor was extremely grieved to see the noblest families, who had hitherto been the ornament and the protection of the country, now so thoughtlessly plunging into the dangers of banishment. How much better would it be, were they to remain and to prosper under the favour of God and of the Emperor! By such and similar means many of the Evangelical noblemen were beguiled, which included all those who loved their earthly home* better than the heavenly one. Those who suffered their conscience to be lulled by these artifices, became either apostates or hypocrites. But they who preferred spiritual to temporal welfare, prepared themselves for exile. Several hundred families forsook their hereditary estates, and all their property, and took refuge in the neighbouring provinces of Misnia, Saxony, Lusatia, Silesia, Poland, and Hungary. Some even wandered as far as Prussia, Russia, and Transylvania.

Among these was the pious, grey-headed, baron Charles Zierotin,† whom we have repeatedly men-

* The Bohemians were greatly attached to their country. Not only do the words "dear fatherland" constantly occur in the "Articles of Defence," but as early as the year 1100, old Cosmas uses the expression: "in dulcem patriam." See *Scriptores Bohem.* I. 47, 52, 57.

† Concerning this excellent individual, who, though a Protestant, never engaged in the alliance against Ferdinand II., see Pelzel's *Literati*, ii. 36, where his portrait is also given.

tioned. He could have obtained permission to remain in his native country as long as he lived, if he had been willing either to dispense with divine worship, or to feign one contrary to his conscience; but he would rather endure affliction with the people of God, than live in the enjoyment of temporal advantages. He was, therefore, obliged to sell his estates, of course for half their value, and even of that a great part was wrested from him by law-suits and other artifices. He went, with the knowledge and consent of the Emperor, to Breslau in Silesia. Soon afterwards he was informed, by an imperial letter, that in case he should be obliged to leave his present abode, he was permitted to go wherever he pleased, but neither to return to the imperial territories, nor to join the enemies of the Emperor.

The Romanists called all those who forsook their native country "Emigrants," considering the name of "Exiles" much too good for them; and ridiculed and blamed their indiscretion, as though they had not been expelled by the Emperor, but had merely left the country in consequence of their own obstinate blindness. But they were not permitted to be at rest even in their exile; for on the 18th of August, 1628, a mandate was issued, in which the Emperor complained that numerous persons from Bohemia and Moravia had only gone to Silesia and Lusatia; and asserted that he by no means intended merely to expel those obstinate people from Bohemia, and tolerate them in the incorporated territories. He, therefore, commanded their further removal, on pain of immediate punishment. Those who had taken minors with them, were commanded

to send them back, or in default thereof to forfeit all property which they might yet have a claim to in their native land.

Immediately afterwards another mandate appeared, wherein it was declared, "that all Protestant wives of Romanist husbands should be banished from the country, unless they embraced the papal religion." But as none of them (for not a single case has been known) were intimidated, and several Protestant ladies were the wives of great state officers, who were not inclined to be divorced, a further indulgence was granted them. But by an edict of the 1st of May, 1629, it was ordained that this indulgence should not extend beyond the death of their husbands; after such an event the widows were to be disinherited and banished, and in the meantime they were to be excluded from all weddings and other festive meetings, or at least to occupy a lower rank than the Romanist ladies.

To the first mandate of July 31, 1627, the Emperor added the following remarks:—"Let no one imagine that this is done for the gain of money, or to deprive others of their property, and not for the honour of God and the everlasting welfare of our subjects. Yea, we hereby declare, in especial grace, that if any one (which we do not fear) should be opposed to this our gracious will, he shall, with his family, be permitted to leave the country without any diminution of his property. We also promise, that if any one shall be unable, during the given respite of six months, to sell his property, or to collect his debts, (wherein, however, he shall be assisted by all the courts of justice,) then shall such an individual be

allowed to choose one from his acquaintances, or any other catholic man, to whom he shall give full power to manage the sale of his property, and the collecting of his debts." Here, on the face of the record, justice seemed beautifully tempered with mercy; so much so, that not only did the exiles accept this mitigation of severity with thankfulness, but it also produced an opinion in others, that the banishment after all could not be a very great hardship. But these were mere words. For first, what could they have to sell who had already been mulcted of their all by heavy fines? * And then, if any one had some immovable property yet remaining, to whom could he sell it, when so few, in this time of war, wished to buy, and especially when so many were quitting the country? Even those who remained, were already nearly impoverished. On the whole, though there were some rich people among the Romanists, they were by no means inclined to furnish the exiles with money, but, on the contrary, desired, by destitution, to drive them to despair and apostacy. Moreover, when a purchaser did come forward, he scarcely offered half the value, which the seller, having no choice left, was obliged to accept; and the purchase after all, was not made with ready money, but by bills and bonds, with which the exile would have great difficulty to appease his hunger in a foreign land. Those, therefore, who were possessed of villages, country estates, vineyards, or other landed property, had no alternative but to entrust their pos-

* It must also be remembered, that dishonest officials frequently proceeded with greater severity than Ferdinand II. required.

sessions to any friend they could find. These friends had, then, the property assigned to them as though by sale, and engaged to send a yearly remittance to the true owner. But as almost everything was permitted against condemned and banished people, temptation was close at hand, and many learned by sad experience that they had made choice of faithless and deceitful substitutes. Some indeed returned secretly to arrange their own affairs. But no sooner was it known, than orders were sent to the district-governors that all Protestants who exported grain from Bohemia, or otherwise disposed thereof, and received the money, should at once be seized. The exiles, however, who had any affairs to transact in Bohemia, might petition the anti-reformation-commissioners for permission to return. But we may judge of the nature of this permission, and the restrictions under which it was granted, from the following copy of the official instrument :—“ His Excellency, and the other gracious and noble commissioners, appointed by his Imperial Majesty, our most gracious sovereign, for the work of reformation in the kingdom of Bohemia, have learned from N— N—’s petition, the object for which he requests permission to return for a time into this country. The commissioners, entertaining good hopes of him, have granted his request, and permit him to come hither freely and without molestation; and command that no one shall, for the space of six weeks, interfere with him in his affairs, on account of his religion. Under the express condition, however, that he, the said N— N—, shall, immediately on his entrance into the kingdom, appear in person before the commissioners, give an account of the business he has to transact, and during the

time of his sojourn take instruction from spiritual, pious, and learned men. Should he then, at the expiration of the time granted, become a member of the papal church, by a penitent confession of his sins, and partaking of the sacrament in one form, then he shall also once more be received and acknowledged as a subject of the realm. Should such not be the case, then the time for his stay here shall in no wise be prolonged. For this is the irrevocable will of his Imperial Majesty. Given under the Reformation-commission at Prague, &c. &c."

The flattering part of such proposals deterred the people generally from ever again returning to their native country. They had no wish to approach these dangerous snares, and therefore they could do nothing but leave the church and their cause to God, the Judge of all.

But in order to restore and increase the impaired condition of his kingdom, the Emperor filled up the vacancies occasioned by the exiled noblemen with individuals chosen by the clergy.* These he raised to the dignity of "states," gave them the first rank, and consequently allowed them precedence of barons, earls, and princes. This was a thing hitherto unheard of in Bohemia. He moreover abolished all the laws of the country, and framed new ones, which were speedily published through the press. He declared his willingness to confirm all the state

* He also created in 1626 about sixty new earls, and 120 new barons. Martinitz and Slawata had already been made earls. On the new nobility of Bohemia and Austria see Menzel's *Hist. of the Germans*, 773; but on the ancient families consult Palachy's *Hist. of Bohemia*, ii. 2, 7—24. Lichtenstein was created prince, and obtained Trappau and Jägerndorf.

privileges, with the exception of those concerning religion, the free election of a king, and the exclusive use of the Bohemian language in the public courts ; his object being to destroy by degrees both the language and nationality of the people. Laws were also enacted, whereby the property of those who could not legally make a will, should fall to the crown, and that the male sex should, notwithstanding any contract of marriage, retain possession of secular estates. The object in view here was the promotion of an alliance of Bohemian ladies with foreign gentlemen, or the new nobility, whereby the ancient families might the easier be deprived of their estates, and their very race be extirpated. This was proved by experience, when several rich heiresses even against their will were united to aliens. For they determined in every way to suppress the liberties of the country, and consequently men were treated like brutes.

CHAPTER VI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANTI-REFORMATION COMMISSION IN THE TOWNS OF BOHEMIA—PRAGUE—KUTTENBERG—JUNGBUNZLAU—LEITMERITZ—KONIGINGRATZ—EGER—SAAZ—TAUSS—ROKYZAN—SCHLAN—PRACHATITZ—LEIPPA—GABEL—NIMES—PARDUBITZ—BENSEN—LISSA—JOACHIMSTHAL—EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS—PERSECUTIONS IN THE STEYERMARK—SUFFERINGS OF PROTESTANTS IN POLAND.

THE manner in which the commissioners of the Anti-reformation proceeded with the towns and the citizens, deserves to be specified by some historical examples. And we derive copious information on this head from the "Book of Persecutions;" the authors of which were eye-witnesses of the melancholy events they have recorded for the sympathy of posterity. In the 90th chapter it is said: "To subjugate and tame the so-called heretics, they burdened the towns with governors and imperial judges, without whose permission no one dared to move. The former were of the nobility, and the latter of the citizens. But what kind of people? Of course only such as could be had when native Romanists had become a rarity. Banished Italians, or Germans, or apostate Bohemians, gluttons who had squandered their fortunes, notorious murderers, bastards, cheats, fiddlers, stage-players, mutineers, even men who

were unable to read, without property, without home, without conscience,—all which can be proved by the most striking examples. It was enough that they were ready to venture every thing, and had promised the Emperor to act, though faithlessly, according to his wishes. Their names would pollute our pages. To such people then were every thing in the towns consigned, and on their caprice were the town-councils to depend. No public complaint of disorder and confusion was of any avail. At last it was perceived that they could not continue thus, and the governors being removed in 1624, the judges alone, assisted by the military, were entrusted with the business of guarding and furthering the progress of the imperial plans.”

Their next endeavour was to reduce the towns, as it were, to a state of destitution. And well they succeeded, by their unheard of extortions, which were continued for years, and enforced by military violence. Then, after the expulsion of the clergy, they began, generally with the assistance of soldiers, to instal the mass-priests, and to compel the people to go to mass. They also prohibited all marriages among non-catholics. Thus were many carnally-minded people every where enticed to apostasy.* Such persons were also admitted into the town-council, though they possessed neither talents nor experience. As the number of the apostates had by this means increased, and the town-

* In France also they gave, in 1685, the converts to Romanism particular rewards, such as exemption from the billeting of soldiers, and remission of taxes and excise for three years; the promoters of such conversions received considerable presents in money.

council at the same time was composed entirely of Romanists, they began to act against the rest of the citizens with still greater rigour.

The fifteen articles of instruction, cited above,* which were sent to the district governors for their guidance in the towns, occasioned great trouble and grief to all the Protestant inhabitants.

In Prague, the Romanists were confidentially asked by the reinstalled imperial authorities, if they recollected any unbecoming words or actions of the Evangelical inhabitants; and whatever was then stated, whether in truth or in prejudice, was at once taken for granted, and proved afterwards to many innocent persons the occasion of their execution. The rest of the citizens were informed by an imperial decree, that they certainly had, by their revolt against the Emperor, forfeited all their property; but he did not wish to deprive them entirely of it; every one, however, was ordered to pay a portion as a contribution towards the expenses of the war. Each individual, therefore, had to state on oath the amount of his possessions. According to this statement, and also according as they were supposed to be possessed of ready money, each citizen was taxed with a contribution called "pardon," of 100, 200, 1,000, or 6,000 guilders, to be paid either immediately or by instalments. In April, 1624, the rights of citizenship were prohibited to non-catholics; and those who had obtained such rights since 1618, were interdicted from carrying on any trade or business. This came upon them like a thunderbolt. Many were thereby quite cast down, and forsook the Evangelical faith; others were reduced to beggary.

* Page 150.

Soon after, (May 29th) placards to the following effect were affixed to the doors of the town-halls in all the cities. " His Highness Prince Charles Lichtenstein has heard from credible persons, that several of the lately expelled preachers are not only secretly concealed in the neighbourhood of Prague, but that they also cause the people to assemble for their pretended worship in houses, gardens, and vineyards, and thus lead them astray from the obedience due to their superiors. As his highness can in no wise suffer these things, after the dangerous rebellion that has lately taken place, he commands the judges of his Imperial Majesty, to use the utmost vigilance on the subject, and whenever they hear of such assemblies, to employ a troop of soldiers, and penetrate into the houses where such meetings are held, without regard to the owners, and seize and imprison all preachers, readers, or singers. We have also heard that Picardian songs, and so-called hymns are sung in the public places and streets; all diligence is, therefore, to be used, that such shall be discontinued, and that no one sing any thing which is not prescribed by the Catholic church."

In order to reduce the number of Protestants by degrees, and intimidate those who remained, they resolved first to remove the most influential men in the town: these were the four whose names have been already mentioned.* Seventy others were banished soon afterwards by another edict, and several hundreds were expelled in a similar manner; then their enemies paused in order to observe the effect of these proceedings on the common people, whom they expected to manage easily enough; and such was

* P. 152.

really the case; for they were compelled to a general apostacy by imprisonment and torture. There were few exceptions of those who voluntarily left the country. Thus did this populous triple town, formerly so little inclined to Popery, at last, through violence, not conviction, submit its neck to the papal yoke.

A remarkable instance of constancy to the Evangelical faith in a very respectable inhabitant of Prague, deserves to be recorded.

His name was Martin Schörkel, court-apothecary to the three emperors, Rudolph II., Matthias, and Ferdinand II. and churchwarden in the Kleinseite. His mother had suffered much, in 1595, from the anti-reformation at Grätz, where he was born, in 1586; and she left the town and all she possessed, with nine young children. After the battle on the White-hill, he lost property to a large amount; but was still retained as the court-apothecary, and hoped to be permitted to continue at least his family worship, especially as the Governor, Prince Lichtenstein, who protected several Lutheran inhabitants whom he respected, was his very particular patron. But the Jesuits procured an edict, whereby all Protestants were compelled either to become Romanists or to leave the town. Of this Schörkel was informed on the 6th of June, 1627. Many influential people desiring to retain him among them, advised him to change his religion, making him, at the same time, great promises, whilst others tried the effect of threats. But he declared openly that as in religious matters he would follow the commands of God, so in affairs temporal he would obey the Emperor, and

therefore, quit the country. They allowed him fourteen days for preparation, but he went at the expiration of eight, leaving his house, a beautiful garden, two well-stocked shops, (one in Prague, and the other at Saaz) and considerable outstanding debts. Having reason to fear that his children would be taken from him and placed in the cloisters; he hastily removed his daughter, and placed his son in the royal school at Misnia. He took up his residence in Dresden, and then purchased an apothecary's shop; where he also suffered much during the war, but enjoyed at least divine service and the communion according to his mind; and though he regretted the causes which had led to his compulsory departure from Prague, he never repented of the step that he had taken.

It will easily be imagined, that these affairs must, at that time, have formed the principal subject of thought and conversation in the different towns. They led to the publication of an instructive pamphlet, called the "Girdle of Truth," written by David Wagenheim of Altenberg, in the Saxon mountains, at the request of one of the exiles, whose spirit was greatly grieved by the apostacy of many of his countrymen in Bohemia. There the reasons are stated why a true Evangelical Christian should scruple to become a Romanist; namely, the deceitful and superstitious nature of Popery; the sanctity of the baptismal covenant; the present brightly shining Evangelical light; the becoming a very pernicious stumbling-block to others; consequent remorse; incurring the suspicion of hypocrisy and unfaithfulness; punishments for the same; the example of their steadfast forefathers; the judgments which

have overtaken former apostates; the faithful instructions received from their ministers. From this pamphlet we also learn the excuses, where-with the apostates thought to justify themselves. They reasoned thus: "Here I gain my subsistence; here I have my house, property, trade, and business; I still adhere to the Evangelical doctrine in my heart, though outwardly I am joined to Popery; I am forced—it is nothing but compulsion; I am forsaken, and can nowhere look for help, consolation, and safety." As preservatives against apostacy, he mentions: earnest study of the word of God, fervent prayer, contemplation of the steadfastness of others, and the expectation of heavenly rewards.

The proceedings of the anti-reformation commissioners against Kuttenberg, deserve particular notice. It was at that time rich in silver-mines, and contained a large population, zealously attached to the Evangelical doctrine. It had also a celebrated Gymnasium, flourishing under the Rector Samuel Alektorius. The governor of this royal town was chief master of the mint, a baron or knight; but the church was under the jurisdiction of an arch-deacon,* in conjunction with seven other clergymen. When the religious persecution began, the fiscal revenues were immediately diminished, because the miners, mostly Germans, left the place. When this was perceived, the government entered into a treaty with them, by a document dated June 24th, 1625,

* The Protestant minister had retained this title. He also provided clergymen for the nobility in the neighbourhood. *Regenvolaciuss*, 69, &c. For sixty years there had been no Popish procession in Kuttenberg.

according to which the miners were to continue their work for ten years, and pay annually a certain sum ; but were to retain during this period, their privileges and their religious liberty, and consequently were not to be burdened with the military employed in the work of conversion. This occasioned great joy among the citizens, as even strangers hoped there to find a place of refuge. But the government broke the treaty in less than five months. The insinuations of the Jesuits inducing the Emperor again to quarter soldiers in this part of the country, under pretence of fearing a rebellion, they arrived on the 6th of December. But the citizens, conscious of their clearly defined treaty, were extremely concerned, and requested by petition, that in order not to lose the miners, they might at least not be treated with violence. Instead of an answer, the governor received a command, on the 22nd, to quarter in the respective houses of the burgomaster and principal citizens, as the spokesmen of the obstinate heretical party, no less than twenty musketeers, whom each was to maintain, until he could produce a confessional ticket from a Popish priest, as a proof of his conversion. This was truly a sorrowful Christmas ! The licentious soldiers revelled in the richest and costliest viands, and tormented those good men in the most capricious and manifold ways. But their patient fortitude remained unconquered. As long as they could, they gave all that they had ; and when they were no longer possessed of any thing, they either escaped further ill-usage by flight, or straightway delivered their keys to the soldiers and renounced house-keeping altogether. As government was thus foiled

in its object, with regard to the inhabitants of Kuttenberg, they entrusted the prosecution of the so-called reformation in this town, to Don Martin de Huerda. On the Saturday before Easter, he entered it sword in hand, accompanied by a troop of horsemen. Alas, the festival of Easter, was thus more grievous even than that of the late Christmas! The citizens, aware of the barbarities which he had committed in other towns, trembled at his arrival, and during the night fled in great numbers for refuge to the neighbouring villages and towns. Don Martin then returned to Prague, and procured a general edict, whereby all who received or sheltered any fugitives should be fined 100 dollars. But this availed nothing. An imperial proclamation was, therefore, issued on August the 17th, announcing a free pardon to all those who should return. Some few ventured back, but only to renew their misery. For in the year following, a new town-council was elected, consisting of thoughtless apostates, (most of whom could neither read nor write, as for example, the chief magistrate, who was formerly a horse dealer,) and with the assistance of the soldiers, they tormented the citizens to such a degree, that most of them, broken down by continual sufferings, were at last forced to yield and give the hand of fellowship to their persecutors. But several others, forsook every thing, and with their families went into exile.

Jacksek* thus describes an event, which took place in Nawysoki, a village near Kuttenberg. On one occasion, when some people of both sexes, from the town and neighbouring villages, were assembled

* In his work on Matthäus xxiv. Dresden, 1642.

in the church, for the purpose of hearing the word of God, and receiving the holy sacrament *sub utraque*, they were surrounded by three detachments of infantry and cavalry, stripped and scourged, and then driven out of the church. Deeply mortified and trembling, they were thus compelled to return home.

Jungbunzlau, a town which had been non-catholic for almost two centuries, was regarded with an evil eye, because it was the chief seat of the Bohemian Brethren. In 1623, the clergymen were expelled, and a few Capuchin monks appointed in their place, who were indefatigable in alienating the inhabitants from their religion. But with all their machinations, during three years they only succeeded in collecting a sufficient number of apostates to form a new town-council. In 1626, they had recourse to violence. They garrisoned the town with three squadrons of cavalry, and several citizens were immediately expelled or imprisoned. A formal banishment was announced, on the 20th of March, to Adam Trubacz, John Bukacz, and Peter Stehlik. In order to terrify others the affair was thus arranged. The exiles were compelled to hold in their hands square staffs, two yards long, on which was inscribed the nature of their crime.* The staff of the first exile had on it the following inscription: "Adam Trubacz is banished because he said, that no one had the power to force his conscience, and that he would not, like others, devote his soul to the devil." On the second side was written: "You wished to expel your king, behold your king now expels you." And

* This old custom explains the phrases—"wandering staff," ("staff of exile.")

on the third, "Learn to obey your God and your king!" This man had told those who wished to convert him, that his soul was not of straw, to be thus slightly valued; and asked them, if the Emperor could give him another if he should lose it? The staff of Bukacz bore a similar inscription; but his crime was differently stated, namely, "John Bukacz is banished because he said, that all new-catholics were rogues, traitors, and unfaithful to God." It is not known what was inscribed on the staff of Stehlik; for he broke and threw it away as soon as he was beyond the gate of the town. But this formal banishment did not intimidate the others. They were, therefore, summoned to the town-hall, where they were locked up in separate chambers, and then examined singly. One of the first was the town-clerk, Daniel Myconius. As he was about to enter, they placed the executioner in readiness with a sword in his hand; Myconius, who was a timid man, and fond of life, seeing him stand in the corner, promised at once to become a Romanist. He was then suffered to go home, and commanded to caution the rest to be equally obedient. He accordingly adjured his friends not to act indiscreetly, but to seek their safety by apostacy. Among the imprisoned were two learned men, George Kezel, and Heinrich Daniel Semanina, formerly honoured with the title of Magister, and who had already held the office of burgomaster. These had influence with the rest, and encouraged them with powerful words of consolation against losing their courage through intimidation. Kezel was soon called upon for examination, and they teased him so long with alternate flatteries and threats,

that he incautiously asked for time to consider the subject. Satisfied with that, they sent for Semanina, who having already heard of Kezel's irresolution, was only the more excited. George Pernikacz, a grey-headed man, told him to take example from Kezel. But he spit in his face, and said : " Faithless man, is this your constancy ?" He then stood before the anti-reformers firm as a rock, and so did also the others. Kezel, too, when he reflected that some day his shame and confusion before the judgment-seat of God would be greater than now before that of man, gave a decided refusal to those who waited for his apostacy, and was, therefore, once more imprisoned with the others. One of the most firm was Bartholomew Lang, who solemnly declared " that he would rather fall by the sword than renounce his religion." He was thrown, into a horrible place, which formed the torture-chamber of the criminals. Here he was confined for seventeen weeks, while the licentious soldiers during that time were revelling in his house. One of the imprisoned, George Smidarsky, fell ill from the stench and confinement, and died in his cell with pious resignation. The persecutors would scarcely permit his body to be buried. As they could at present gain nothing from the firmness of the Protestants, they dismissed them at last, and gave them time for reflection. The persecutors were, indeed, somewhat more indulgent, because in this year (1626) Bethlem Gabor of Transylvania had attacked the Emperor, and Mansfeld and Bernhard of Weimar had made an irruption into Bohemia, with the army of the king of Denmark ; and they informed the inhabitants of all the towns, that it

was not his Imperial Majesty's will or intention to compel any one to embrace the Papal creed, but that those who were not of his Majesty's religion should have permission to emigrate. The inhabitants of Jungbunzlau consequently were enabled for a short time to breathe somewhat more freely. In the year following, the Hungarian war being ended, and the Danish army driven from Silesia, severe measures were again everywhere resorted to, and the following command was sent to the burgomaster and town-council of Jungbunzlau :—

“ Respected and beloved feiends, we have been informed, that several of your fellow-citizens are still opposed to the paternal exhortations of his Imperial Majesty, our sovereign and most gracious lord, as well as to the salutary instructions of the clergy ; that they remain to this moment in the most insolent obstinacy, and reject the holy saving catholic religion ; above all, that George Kezel, and Heinrich Semanina, prove to be the most obstinate antagonists of his Imperial Majesty's will and commands, setting an evil example to all non-catholics. We therefore command you, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, our king and most gracious lord, to direct these two citizens, since they are chief heretics and sectarians, to give no offence to others by their errors, but rather to renounce their heretical faith, embrace the pure religion, and return to the bosom of the catholic church ; and this indeed before the festival of Ascension, or at least before the Pentecost, otherwise they are to lose their citizenship, and be banished from the kingdom of Bohemia. For the rest you are aware of the order lately issued by Prince Lichtenstein, governor of Bohemia, in

the name of his Imperial Majesty, in pursuance of which all non-catholic, schismatic, dissenting, peace and concord-destroying citizens and inhabitants of the suburbs, are to be deprived of all privileges and civil rights. But you have not yet informed us, whether this has been enforced. If it have not, we command you, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, to accomplish the same, and strenuously to exhort all citizens and inhabitants, housekeepers and domestics, males and females, old and young, who are non-catholics, and still continue in their heretical errors, to have a regard for their temporal welfare and everlasting salvation, and return to the bosom of the catholic church, otherwise they will expose themselves to the most severe and decisive modes of punishment. If you promptly inform us of what you have accomplished in this affair, you will thereby prove your compliance with the will of his Imperial Majesty. Given at Prague, the 17th day of April, 1627.—The commissioners appointed by his Imperial Majesty for the reformation of religion in Bohemia.”

It appears that this edict was not enforced, or at least that it failed in producing the effect which the commissioners intended ; they, therefore, issued the following on the 15th of June, which is still more stringent and decisive in its language :—

“ We were in hopes that you would have executed the order which we lately issued and forwarded to you in the name of his Imperial Majesty, and that your non-catholic fellow-citizens would have renounced their heretical errors, and embraced the holy catholic religion ; but above all, that the two most obstinate heretics, George Kezel and

Heinrich Semanina, would, during the time granted them, have made auricular confession, and have received the sacrament as instituted by the holy catholic church, namely, under one form. But we hear, that these sectarians and other citizens of similar opinions among you persevere to this moment in their incarnate audacity, that they reject our holy religion and saving doctrines, and that none have adopted the catholic faith. Therefore, as it is the will of his Imperial Majesty that such rebellious subjects, who refuse to be of the same religion with his Imperial Majesty, shall not be permitted to enjoy the royal favour, or to dwell or carry on any trade or business in the kingdom of Bohemia: we now peremptorily command you, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, not only to deprive these two schismatics of their citizenship and civil rights, but also to banish them forthwith, without regard to person or rank, from the town, and the whole kingdom. On the day that banishment is announced to them, or at least the day after, they must quit the town before sunset, and also leave the whole Bohemian kingdom, and never return, otherwise they are to be most severely punished. We also further command you, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, to divest all non-catholic citizens and inhabitants of Jungbunzlau of their rights and privileges, and to interdict them all further sales, purchases, or civil occupations. You are to give the strictest injunctions, that henceforth they shall not resume their former occupations without our permission, unless they shall have previously renounced their obstinacy and heretical errors, and that every one shall submit to the will

of his Imperial Majesty, embrace the catholic religion, and prove the same by a testimonial from his father confessor. You are once more strictly to enjoin and command in our name, that by the end of June next coming, they shall, without any evasion or subterfuge, embrace the holy catholic religion. Every one is to make confession to a proper catholic priest, and devoutly and reverentially receive the sacrament according to the Roman Catholic church, or be expelled in a similar manner from the town and kingdom. Your request to remove the soldiers from your town, shall be attended to; only take care that all your fellow-citizens so much the readier embrace the catholic religion. By so doing you will, one and all, find safety here and hereafter, and fulfil the desire of his Imperial Majesty."

Of the Lutheran clergymen, who suffered with the rest in the Jungbunzlau persecution, the most distinguished was Johann Fleischmann. When banished in 1622, he went to Zittau; here he lived four years in great indigence, until he was appointed first minister of Reichenau, where his father, David Fleischmann, had previously held a similar office, from 1591 to 1606. In Reichenau he laboured from 1626 to 1652. We have a beautiful memorial in the town library of Zittau, of the learning and ability of Fleischmann, consisting of two valuable Greek manuscripts, which he presented to the library at the commencement of the Bohemian troubles. One of these manuscripts contains the historical books of the Old Testament, together with the New Testament and Josephus' treatise on the Maccabees. A learned Greek, who saw this codex

in the year 1725, while on a visit to the Zittau library, placed a great value on it, and supposed it to have been written in Athos, in the 15th century. But the learned Professor Matthäi of Wittemberg, to whom the manuscript was lent in 1801, judges it to have been written by a learned and careful man at the beginning of the 14th century. It has already been made use of. The various readings of the Old Testament contained in this manuscript, are given in the Oxford edition of the LXX by Holmes, and those of the New Testament in Matthäi's edition. The other manuscript of Fleischmann contains twenty-two Dialogues of Plato.

In the town of Leitmeritz on the Elbe, now the seat of a bishop, since Leitomischl fixed it there, *utraquism* flourished, as in many other places even before the time of Luther. As early as August 21st, 1517, the citizens unanimously and publicly agreed, for the sake of concord, that no one, even though a native of the town, should be allowed to become a citizen, if he took the communion in one form. Should any one advise the repeal of this law, it was decreed, that he should be deprived of his citizenship, and quit the town within the space of one month. For a whole century this law remained inviolate. But in 1617, two tools of the Jesuits, Mrazek and Collen, who had purchased houses in the place, solicited their citizenship; and meeting with a refusal, lodged a complaint in the Chancery. The Chancellor, and the Secretary Paul Michna, immediately summoned the first three council-men and the town-clerk, whom they received with the bitterest reproaches, and kept in prison for nine days, until they yielded citizenship to the applicants. Five months

after this the said Mrazek was chosen town-councillor. He was of course necessarily obliged to remain quiet, as long as the Protestant states continued in arms against the enemies of the Evangelical religion ; but took courage after the Emperor had obtained the victory. At this time he was raised to the dignity of Imperial Judge, and continued to oppress and burden the inhabitants of Leitmeritz in every possible way. But they endured all steadfastly more than any other town. Deprived of their Evangelical clergy, they neither attended the Popish worship, nor were any of them induced to apostatize; though two artful Capuchin monks, Valerian Gross and Franz Rozdrazow, were very zealous in the work of conversion, and held frequent conversations with the chief men of the town.

As nothing could be accomplished by these means, they had as usual recourse to violence. On the Saturday before Easter, 1625, a register of all the citizens was sent to each, by a sergeant, with the command, that every one was to attend sermon and mass on next day, and also on certain other festivals in the year. To prove his attendance, he was required, on leaving the church, to deliver his list to the clerk. Every case of disobedience was to be punished by a fine of fifteen score of groschen. But even thus the affair did not proceed according to their wish ; and at last they procured a greater military power, and began to enforce their plans with the utmost energy. An order was issued that on the festival of Corpus Christi, the entire community should take part in the procession. Paul Stransky, the town-syndic, was burdened with a whole squadron of soldiers, who completely pillaged

the house, whilst the owner thereof was forced to conceal himself from their brutality. They terrified his lady, whom they found in the kitchen, and took possession of it and the larder, and the wine cellar. They had, however, at last, to depart without examining every thing, inasmuch as several chambers contained money and corn collected for the crown. The officer, however, sealed the wine cellar, and sent for wine whenever he pleased.

Stransky is celebrated to this day as an historical author; he belonged to the Moravian Brethren, and had been imprisoned on occasion of the above-mentioned summons to Prague. He strongly resisted the order, that all the inhabitants of Leitmeritz should become Romanists; and then held a public controversy for two days with the Capuchin monks, who were considered as learned men, declaring that he would rather forsake his native country than his creed. He remained, however, in Leitmeritz, until he had arranged his accounts as collector of the crown revenues. In 1626, he was commanded, either to embrace the Popish religion, or to leave his father-land. He maintained his integrity, and departed, first to Pirna and other Saxon towns, but ultimately to Thorn in Prussia, where he settled on a small farm, and procured for some years a miserable subsistence from agriculture. But his talents being perceived, he was appointed Professor to the Gymnasium of Thorn, where he laboured ten years, with great approbation. He died in 1657, in the 75th year of his age. But this excellent man still lives in one of his works, "*De Republica Bojema*," which was dedicated to the sons of the Palatine Frederick, and is a very

valuable compendium of Bohemian history. Stransky was also a Latin poet.* At that time Bohemia not only lost this great genius, but hundreds of her best men and most esteemed authors.

The greater part of the Protestants, indeed almost half the inhabitants of Leitmeritz, followed the example of Stransky, considering it best, thus to obey their superiors without violating their conscience, and went into the neighbouring districts of Misnia and Pirna.

Königgrätz, a beautiful and large town, lost its Evangelical ministers, and received in their stead a very clever archdeacon, John Cölestin, who frequently assured the people, that he did not approve of compulsory measures, and flattered himself and others with the hope of being able to arrange this affair in a peaceable manner. He, therefore, visited the citizens, or invited them to his house, and entertained them daily at the banquet or gaming-table very agreeably and facetiously. When, however, this had continued four years, without any one evincing a desire to embrace the Popish religion, he began to shew a serious countenance; and applied for permission to call to his assistance the Croatian soldiers, who were then quartered in the town. The community, on a festival-day, being assembled in the church, he explained the meaning of the mass, and invited them to join the procession, which was to take place after the sermon, adding several exhortations. But as no one would follow him, the Croatians suddenly entered the church

* See Pelzel's *Bohemian Literati*, II. 53, &c. which also contains the portrait of this honourable man, and several remarks on the religious persecution.

with drawn swords. The terrified people, afraid of being cut down, ran half distracted towards the doors, but they were driven back by several squadrons of cavalry, stationed in the market-place. Thus they were forced, whether they would or not, to join the procession. Some few, however, made their escape; and the whole scene must have appeared highly ridiculous to both parties. The commissioners of the anti-reformation, in 1626, sent the whole Beiner regiment to Königingrätz, with an express command not to leave the town, until all the inhabitants were Romanized. The archdeacon was of opinion that the net should first of all be cast for the most respectable people; he, therefore, together with the governor, Trauss, went to Dr. Nicolas Acontius, who then lay ill in bed, and most peremptorily demanded of him if he would at last become a Catholic. The other replied, "As long as I do not feel any change in my heart, I dare not violate my conscience." The archdeacon then exclaimed in the greatest rage: "We have borne long enough with your insolence; you shall no longer escape by your sophistries." "If you think," replied the physician, "that my head is in your way, command that it be struck off! I would rather have my corpse, in a half decayed state, drawn over the ground, and torn to pieces, than willingly and knowingly violate my conscience." The archdeacon then rose in a fury, and ran out of the house. The Governor, previously to his departure, whispered to the physician: "Sir, there is yet a way of escape, the whole world, far and wide, is open for you." Soon after, all the citizens and the inhabitants of the suburbs, were ordered to assemble. The gates

were locked, and the people being called up separately, were assailed with the severest threats. The most timid promised at once to receive instruction; others who refused were cast into prison; and soldiers were directly quartered in their houses, with full liberty to do whatever they pleased,—and they raged in the most licentious manner. The intimidated wives, children and other members of families, with their lamentations and tears, almost broke the hearts of their imprisoned husbands and fathers, nearly all of whom then lost their courage and fell. One after another offered his hand, and requested a respite, in order to learn the mysteries of the Roman faith. Thus was the town, which had so long been steadfast, overcome by the terrors of a single day; forgetting that we ought to remain firm, not in the dungeon only, but even in death. Among so numerous a population, there were only twenty-eight who preserved their conscience at the sacrifice of all their temporal possessions. These, together with their families, went into exile. Among this small band was Dr. Acontius, who caused himself, not without difficulty, to be lifted into a vehicle, and conveyed to Leschna in Poland; Daniel Semanina was another, who in the same place obtained the dignity of burgomaster; others found refuge elsewhere.

Of Eger, where, as in Elbogen, the reformation had early taken root, Pelzel states, that Michael Benisch, from Friedland, the zealous Popish preacher, was in constant broils with the Lutherans, against whom he ultimately obtained an edict, that they should be exiled, not only from the town, but also from the whole province of Eger, unless they chose to embrace the Papal religion; and many were im-

prisoned in consequence : which was the lot of the solicitor Jeremy Scherzer, father of the celebrated theologian, Adam Scherzer of Leipzic. He gave an example of constancy to many others, and then became an exile. In 1649, Eger petitioned for the restitution of its former privileges, or at least for the enjoyment of the same rights as it held prior to 1624, since the inhabitants belonged to Bohemia, merely by mortgage of the place, but their petition was disregarded.

The events, hitherto related, may be considered mild in comparison with those which took place in the towns where Don Martin de Huerda, and some others, equally animated by Spanish fanaticism, were the commissioners of the anti-reformation. When this individual, with his soldiers, entered Bidschow, ten miles from Prague, he immediately summoned the citizens into the town-hall, and in a fulsome speech, recommended them to embrace the Popish religion. The citizens had empowered Johann Kolacznik to return an answer, and he replied : "That it exceeded the power of human beings to unlearn and renounce in an hour, what had been learned and cherished during the whole life. Nor was it right to surrender what had once been acknowledged as divine truth, unless the contrary should be learned from the word of God." Burning with rage, and regardless of decency, Huerda sprang from his seat, and attacked the man with a cudgel, which he had in his hand, striking him repeatedly. He then called the sergeant, and ordered him instantly to expel Kolacznik from the town with degradation, not permitting him to enter his own house again. This example of punishment

terrified the others. They were afraid of the man whom they saw foaming with rage, and promised to comply with his wish by receiving instruction. A few, desirous of preserving their liberty of conscience by flight, despatched some valuables, with their wives, previous to their own departure. The affair, however, was betrayed, and soldiers were immediately sent in pursuit, who not only took from the women, every thing they had, but also compelled them to return to the town, where they were imprisoned until both they and their husbands had abjured the faith.

The town of Saaz, where, according to George of Anhalt, the theological Prince, the communion had, from the first introduction of Christianity, never been celebrated otherwise than in both forms, and where the people remained free from the debaucheries of the Calixtines, was deprived of its minister, John Regius, and in his place they appointed certain monks, who, with the aid of a numerous garrison always present, greatly tormented the citizens. This was not merely done by declaiming in their sermons against heretics and heresies, but whenever the people neglected to bend the knee or uncover their heads during the processions, they were beaten on the legs and head with sticks, and their hats taken from them and given to the soldiers. The burgomaster was once fined fifty dollars for neglecting to attend a procession, besides being obliged to satiate during three days as many soldiers as his house could contain with wine and the most costly viands. A similar punishment was inflicted on the council-men and others who also had absented themselves on this or a like occasion. On the 12th of August, 1625, Don

Huerda made his appearance at Saaz, and caused two proclamations to be made in the town-hall and in the church. By the one the people were required to bring their Bibles and other evangelical books to the town-hall, under a fine of 100 Bohemian guilders, and five weeks' imprisonment. The other referred to attendance at church, especially at mass, and imposed a penalty of five guilders, and three pounds of wax on each case of absence. These edicts produced great wavering and irresolution; the books, however, were brought to the town-hall, and on the 22nd of August, removed outside the town, where they were piled up and burned.

On the 6th of January, 1626, the military, after having completed their work in the neighbouring church of Laun, arrived to the assistance of Don Martin at Saaz, and were quartered in the houses of such citizens as refused to renounce their Protestantism. From these they daily extorted considerable sums of money, and many of them gave up house and all, and were ready to endure the miseries of exile; but to prevent this Martin issued a command that no one should, under forfeiture of life, leave the town without his permission. The next day the burgomaster was imprisoned, and not released until he had promised to embrace the Papal religion. On the 26th of January, Huerda, accompanied by some Jesuits and officers, went to the town-hall, whither he had cited the council and people, and commanded them all to submit to the will of the Emperor, by making an auricular confession, and receiving the communion in one form. Those who yielded were to be exempted from maintaining the soldiers, but the disobedient were to have a double portion of this rigorous burden. Every one was se-

parately to answer the question whether he was willing to yield obedience within the space of three weeks? One councillor yielded from fear of the tyrant; but a quarter-master, named Wenzel Wysotsky, stepped forward and modestly defended his faith, and insisted upon liberty of conscience. The anti-reformer then rose like a madman, and struck him repeatedly with his fists, using at the same time the most abusive language. Among other things he said: "You good-for-nothing scoundrel, I will have you put in double chains, and thrown into the deepest dungeon, where the light of the sun shall never reach you: and when once you have cast out your criminal soul, the hangman shall have your carcass to put it under ground." He then sent for chains, and the sergeants immediately putting his hands and feet in shackles, fastened a collar round his neck, and iron rings round his arms; and thus laden the unhappy man was dragged to the dungeon, where no one, not even his wife or any of his children, was allowed to visit him. Here he sat for three weeks under the heaviest fetters, his body being fed with bread and water, and his soul disgusted with the daily torment of the Jesuits. After this they pronounced upon him sentence of death for contemplating an insurrection of the people by his rebellious speech. But seeing that he would rather die than forsake his religion, the Jesuit, Peter Chanowsky said to him: "You are possessed by the devil," and had him chained still more heavily. When the good man saw that he could obtain neither death nor life, and being unable to endure the torture any longer, he at last promised to make an auricular confession. Being permitted to travel to a bathing place for the recovery of his health,

(for cruelty seemed now to be glutted,) he went to Annaberg in Saxony, and never more returned to Saaz.

Many of the citizens were desirous of leaving the country in a similar manner ; but the gates were so strictly guarded, that no one could escape or send away any part of his property. Several, however, succeeded in saving their lives, or rather their precious souls, by such places in the town walls as happened to be impaired. More than a hundred escaped in this way, and of course they left all they possessed to their persecutors. Among those who thus fled from the town was a rich lady, the wife of one of the most respectable citizens, who, following her husband, Herr von Kralitz, made her escape through a sewer in the wall.

The inhabitants of Tauss had been ordered by the sub-chancellor Jesipek to apostatize, but they refused. He one day complained of their obstinacy in the Jesuit college at Prague, when Don Martin, who was present, observed, that, if they would spend 500 ducats he would soon overcome them. Then taking a troop of soldiers, he proceeded to Tauss, and placed ten or twenty of these tormenting spirits in the houses of the several council-men, with full power to molest them in every possible way. By this means he brought nearly all in a short time to apostacy, and laughingly took possession, from the chancellor, of the promised reward. But the latter, being enraged because the inhabitants would not be converted by himself, and yet submitted to another, sentenced them to a heavy fine. Thus the poor Protestants were forced to sacrifice both their money and their conscience to the cupidity of these flagitious men.

In 1624, Baron Zdenko Leo, now Count Kolowrat, by command of Prince Lichtenstein, invaded the town Rokyzan with a whole regiment of soldiers. He not only extorted considerable sums of money from the citizens, but in a tyrannical manner attacked their religion. There is scarcely an imaginable torture, which was not endured by these poor people.

On the 20th of December he cited all the citizens before him, and then addressed them in a lengthened and angry speech. He spoke bitterly of the late rebellion and the Count of Mansfeld; made allusions to Ziska, and particularly reproached them, that the celebrated John Rokyzan, who aspired to be archbishop of Prague, had come from their town; that he was a worthless man, in whose footsteps they were now walking. He then forced them to inscribe their names in a three-fold register. In the first were written those who were already Romanists—six apostates signed their names in this. Those who promised to become Romanists in the course of a fortnight had to inscribe their names in the second; and in the third all those who, as he said, were disobedient to God and to the Emperor. But as by far the greater number stood in the third register, he and his colleagues began to curse them most fearfully, and said that they deserved the rack, the gallows and everlasting hell. He seemed beside himself with rage. The following day, being St. Thomas's, he compelled them all to go to church, and setting others the example, he took the sacrament, *sub una*. After dinner, ordering the bells again to be rung, he went to church; but finding no one there, (for even the monks had not yet arrived,) he rushed out, ran across the market,

through the streets, into the houses, driving, by the force of his stick, all he met into the church, whither he also himself went again. He no sooner perceived Felix Streiz, a most respectable citizen, and whom he hated the more because he was a Calvinist, than he snatched a bludgeon from a bystander, with which he attacked the poor man, pursuing him to the altar, and exclaiming: "You long-bearded scoundrel, you also have put your name in the list of the damned, and refuse to make a confession!" Streiz requested the Count to reverence the sanctity of the place; but he continued to strike him on the head, shoulders and arms, until Felix fell on his knees and prayed to God for help. When the tyrant saw the flowing blood, he cried out: "Away hence, you beast, with your damned calvinistic blood!" Felix then rose and went out. Those who met him asked what had happened? And he replied: "Between the temple and the altar have I been made to shed my blood, but it is for the name of Him who shed his precious blood still more abundantly for us."

When Felix had left the church, the Count raged in various ways against the assembled citizens, in order to force them to make a confession.* But this did not merely mean what we generally understand by the common acceptance of the word; but it signified also the renouncing of Protestantism, the anathematizing of former doctrines and of evangelical parents, and a confession of all that they were now to believe, as we have already shewn above.

Kolowrat continued his violence and abusive

* The confession-ticket received on such occasions was then a token to other Jesuits, that the renunciation of the evangelical faith had already taken place.

language ; some he beat with his stick, he spat in the face of others, and even tore off the grey beard of Wenzel Krocinus, and strewed the hair about the church. After he had returned home, the Count again sent for Felix, and threatened to act an unheard-of tragedy with him, if he should not be converted by the morrow. But he fled during the night ; forsaking his mother eighty years old, and his wife and children. The Count then confiscated his estates, and even cast his wife into prison. Those who were brought by him to apostacy, he compelled to sign a document, acknowledging that the people of Rokyzan owed their delivery to God, the Holy Virgin, and the Count Zdenko Kolowrat, and that by the mediation of the said Count, they had *voluntarily and freely* embraced the Popish religion. Such a testimonial they had to furnish with their proper sign-manual, and it had moreover to be verified by the stamp of the town-seal. Thus did that miserable man attempt to deceive God and the Emperor. In a short time, however, he was himself summoned to Vienna, and there imprisoned on account of certain crimes.

In Schlan,* a royal town, the people were also cruelly abused. The governor, Nicol Hansbursky, had shortly before, on account of some crime, been under the hands of the executioner, and only received his pardon because he was a Romanist. Being now desirous of ingratiating himself with the Jesuits, he zealously persecuted the Protestants. And on Corpus Christi day, partly by force and partly by

* Here it was, that in 1419, the Cardinal-legate Dominici, excited the rage of the Hussites, by causing a Hussite preacher to be burnt, having previously knocked his communion-cup to the ground.

guile, he induced most of the citizens to join the procession. Among others he cited John Bleyssa, who refused to attend because it was against his conscience. On being asked for his reasons, he said, "that each time he had taken the sacrament, he vowed to God, never to join in that procession." He was then told, that he could not resist the will of the Emperor; but he replied, "certainly not in matters appertaining to government; but our affair here has reference to God." It was then represented to him, that they had the power to compel him; but he answered: "God requires a voluntary, not a compulsory worship." For his "disobedience," (as they termed it,) Bleyssa had to suffer nine weeks' imprisonment.

But John Jahada, another citizen, was more severely treated. He had refused to join in the procession, and to raise an altar in his house, considered by the Papists as a blessed privilege, and was therefore accused not only of disobedience, but of irreligion. His sentence was imprisonment for nine months, and a fine of fifty dollars, wherewith they intended to purchase a new case for the "Host." On paying the fine, after the term of his imprisonment, he said that he did this from obedience to government, and they might apply the money to whatever purpose they pleased, but he could not consider himself as a contributor to the "Host," for he required no other atonement than the one that had been made by Christ upon the cross. For these words he was again imprisoned for a month, and only liberated on paying another fine of fifty dollars. Then, together with his wife, he was expelled from the town. He was a man of great firmness, and died soon after of the pestilence at Prague.

But Bleyssa was speedily visited with a second punishment, for having his daughter secretly baptized by an evangelical clergyman. He was first cast into a filthy prison, whither his wife, not yet risen from childbed, was also conveyed; and afterwards banished, with the permission to retain one-third of his property, the rest having been devoted to the church. But even of this portion he was deprived, and did not receive one farthing. He could therefore do nothing but trust to God for help, and endured the miseries of exile to the day of his death.*

In the year 1626, the above-named Governor, in order to effect a general apostacy, obtained military assistance, and by that means, and by various tortures, compelled most of the people to promise the required obedience. Among other cruelties he confined fifty men in a chamber of the town-hall, so narrow in its dimensions, that they could scarcely stand, much less sit or lie down. Here they were imprisoned for three days, without being allowed to go out, even for the most necessary purposes; their fortitude in such distress could not but be broken down by infected air, disgust and indignation. They were therefore set at liberty, having promised to receive instruction in the Papal religion. In a similar manner did this monster treat the women in a room of his own

* In the churches at or near Schlan, there were likenesses of Luther and Melancthon, which the Anti-reformation commissioners had forgotten to seize and destroy. Afterwards the people, not knowing whom they represented, offered up prayers to them as unto the images of Roman saints. It is said that the portraits were recognized only 19 years ago, and have only of late been removed.

house. Those who were faithful to Christ, at length left the country.*

At Prachatitz, and afterwards at Pisek, the anti-reformation was accompanied with carnage. When the imperial army was about to pass through the town in 1621, the citizens, with a small garrison, ventured to oppose them. For three days they resisted, but at last were compelled to surrender. Just as they were about to give up the keys of the town, the enemy broke through the gates, cut down the burgomaster, who was carrying the keys, and slew all they met in the streets, not excepting the young children. In the short space of three hours, 1166 citizens were weltering in their blood.† There were scarcely ten who escaped the fury of the enemy, either by flight or concealment. In 1625, the town having revived by the influx of strangers and survivors, the commissioners of the anti-reformation promised to the citizens the restoration of their liberty and privileges, if they would

* Those who have hitherto considered the confinement of the English prisoners of war at Calcutta in 1756, as the most unparalleled example of savage barbarity that ever disgraced the annals of mankind, will here discover its prototype, perpetrated under a much higher degree of atrocious ferocity, inasmuch as it was not the result of a momentary ebullition of fitful revenge, but of a calculating cold-blooded desire to torture its victims, and women as well as men were the sufferers, by one who had apostatized from a profession of Protestantism to the confession of Romanism; and this deed of Nicol Hansbursky is assuredly as worthy of that defection from the true faith, as it is to be placed beside the deed of the Mahomedan despot, Surajud Dowlah, of "black hole" notoriety; the difference of climate alone causing a difference in their results.

† At Pisek also, Maximilian of Bavaria caused 1200 citizens to be massacred.

but embrace the Popish religion. On refusing to do this, they were interdicted from carrying on any trade or business (as was then done everywhere else), and men, women, and children were all imprisoned in separate dungeons, as so many rebels. During the period of four months they were most cruelly tormented; and those who consented to become Romanists were no gainers after all. With equal tyranny, deception, and daring, they also treated other towns, which are not mentioned here. But from what has been stated, every one may perceive how impiously, barbarously, and haughtily they proceeded in the work of conversion.

The following are a few notices of what befel certain towns near the borders of Upper Lusatia, in northern Bohemia.

On the 6th of January, 1623, the inhabitants of Leippa were deprived of their church, and the clergymen, Mönch and Laurentius, were banished. The latter went to Zittau, where he assisted the other ministers in their clerical duties. The former had been in Lieppa from the year 1619, and was so zealous against the Catholics and the Calvinists, that the soldiers frequently catechized and maltreated him. He was ordered to depart in 1622; but being a sufferer from apoplexy, his wife and children entreated the commissioners for patience and indulgence; yet though it was in the winter season, their request was not granted. With difficulty he managed to write his farewell address, which was read to the community at the morning service of new-year's day, 1623, by the deacon Laurentius. Mönch directed his course to Stalpen. The lord of Leippa, who remained faithful to the Evangelical religion, had been banished in 1620.

He died in 1643 at Dresden. The celebrated Clemens Lehmann, who was afterwards first minister of Zittau, was the son of a clergyman in Leippa, and his bust is yet to be seen in the burial-ground of Trinity church in that town.

The following statement is given of the town Gabel in an old Zittau chronicle :—" During February and March 1628 the religious persecution approached nearer and nearer to the town. The commissioner, Count Kolowrat, severely tortured the inhabitants of Gabel with stripes and bonds, and, as has been reported by eye-witnesses from Zittau, burned at the whipping-post all the Lutheran books which yet remained in the possession of one or another Protestant. They also destroyed the portraits of Luther, Melancthon, and Huss. But in Gabel, as in Leippa, the first persecution took place in 1623, when they expelled the minister, Gregor Rosher, who fled to his native town of Zittau, and remained there nine years." A modern author of Gabel says: "Our Protestant minister, Gregor Rosher, was indeed expelled, but his religion was not banished with him from the hearts of the inhabitants." This history also proves how little the citizens who were forced to Popery loved their mass priests, and submitted to the dogmas of the church of Rome. In 1635 deep-rooted hatred between the citizens and the Popish priests had attained its most calamitous height. In a letter of the Prior, Dominicus Alanus, which is yet extant, it is said: "How numerous are the molestations and injuries to which we are subjected by these uncultivated citizens. They never cease molesting us with weapons, and abusive language, and even with robberies of all kinds. They have no

other names for us but rogue, thief, and scoundrel. Were an angel to appear among them, they would still persecute him, because they are devils themselves. They are heretics, and eat meat on Saturday, and have even the temerity to entice our brother Stephen to do the same. There is no symptom of the catholic religion observable in them ; what can I therefore say otherwise than that they are heretics ?”

The Book of Persecutions gives the following account of the town of Nimes :—“ Wherever the commissioners came, they used craftily, in order to forward their object, first of all to try the most influential men in the town, either by persuasion or force. In Nimes, Zdenko Kolowrat demanded from the assembled vassals of the domain a decisive answer at once, whether or not they would become Papists ? Then one replied, in the name of the community, ‘ that religion neither was nor could be compatible with compulsion.’ This man he immediately caused to be seized, thrown down, and scourged, in the presence of them all, and then asked him again if he was willing to comply ? But as he continued to answer in the negative, even when he was scarcely able to speak, he was carried away half dead. The others were frightened at this severe example, and promised to receive instruction, if time should be given them to reflect on the subject.” On the 11th of March, 1628, all their religious books were burned near the whipping-post.

The town of Pardubitz also affords us an example of those evil times. Even before the commencement of the political commotions, the archbishop of Prague had strenuously urged the governor of

that place not to allow the Protestants either their worship or their preachers, but to prevent the same in all possible ways. After the battle of the Whitehill a Popish dean was appointed at Pardubitz, and to him the ministers in the neighbourhood became subordinate. In 1621 he issued a notice, commanding the hitherto beneficed Evangelical clergymen of the neighbourhood to appear on the festival of Corpus Christi and join in the procession, threatening excommunication as the penalty of disobedience. These clergymen, being in the same dilemma as the theologians of Augsburg in 1530, stayed away, and on the day following the dean came to their parsonages with a troop of soldiers, took them into custody, and treated them with great rigour. For when Martin Felmer, the minister of Bodhanetsch excused himself, the dean became enraged, and with his closed fist struck him a severe blow on the face. He then had him led to the town as a criminal, without hat or cloak, threw him into a dark, filthy dungeon, and for three days sent him nothing but a little bread and water. At last the clergymen were dismissed with the most abusive language, and required to quit the domain within three days. Felmer had, moreover, to pay a fine of ten dollars.

On the 23rd of January, 1624, a detachment of horsemen arrived at Bensen, where they remained fifteen months, in order "that the people might and should embrace the true and only saving religion." This must, however, have proved a failure; for in 1627 the commissioners arrived, who commanded that every one should positively embrace the Popish religion and attend the confessional within the period of six months. It was at this place, in 1728, that

an order of the consistory was read to all the clergy of the district, for the celebration, by a procession and *Te Deum*, of the successful extirpation of the Lutheran creed a century before. In this district the secular commissioners themselves were of opinion that such a kind of transformation could not possibly be attended with good results. Here also for several years there was a great lack of suitable ministers.

In the smaller towns and villages the Protestants were treated with still less ceremony. No one but a Romanist was allowed to marry, to have his children christened, or to sell his goods. Many thousands, therefore, who could escape, went into foreign countries; others concealed themselves in the mountains, the woods, and the most remote villages, whither no Jesuits accompanied by soldiers reached them. These propagated their doctrines among their children and grandchildren, notwithstanding that at a later period they were imprisoned and deprived of their books by the Jesuits. Thus, says Pelzel, speaking of Lissa: "when it was known that the anti-reformers were coming thither, the citizens set fire to their houses, and went away with such things as they were able to carry."

Such are the records of a few of the towns in Bohemia. If we were to give more, we should only present a repetition of similar scenes; and as there still exist many reports of the anti-reformation commission in Bohemia, and, doubtless, hundreds of written accounts of other towns, as well as statements of their sufferings recorded by the exiles,—future authors may have opportunities of completing the history of the efforts of the Romanists to root out Protestantism. But the records here given must

be deemed of importance, not only in the country to which they refer, but also to every friend of religious toleration.

We will add another example of the treatment of the towns, shewing that in some places the work of persecution was protracted for almost twenty years. In the time of Luther's reformation, the inhabitants of Joachimsthal belonged to the Hussites and the Moravian Brethren, and sought communion with Luther, who willingly befriended these mountaineers. Of this love and union we still see some traces in Luther's correspondence.*

In 1541 Luther took several young men of Joachimsthal as his pupils; seven citizens deputed to him from that town were once his guests, the counts Schlik being of the party. They began to build a Protestant church on the day after Trinity-Sunday, 1533, which was completed in four years, and covered with a slated roof; previously to this there had been no church at all in the place. The beloved Ch. Ering, of Leipzic, was the then minister. They had evangelical sermons in Joachimsthal, at an early period, but the ceremonies were not immediately changed. In the middle of the 16th century, that distinguished preacher, the excellent John Matthesius, a friend of Luther, laboured here until 1565. After the accession of Ferdinand II. the command to embrace the Papal creed was also sent to the inhabitants of this town. On the 26th

* Luther's letter to W. Wiebel, citizen of Joachimsthal, 1530, in de Wette's edition of his Letters, iv. 207; to the Counts Schlick, who owned the new place, *ibid.* 407. Luther's works, v. 509, of that edition. The mines were constructed by Stephen, Count Schlick, who fell in the battle of Mohacz.

of June, 1623, Prince Lichtenstein forwarded the following mandate to the Governor, who was also administrator of the domain of Presnitz: "As his Imperial Majesty is desirous of establishing peace and quietness in all his territories, and among all the states and inhabitants, (who are now constantly excited by non-catholic and disobedient priests to rebel against their lawful rulers) and wishes to suppress all rebellion, and restore love and unity: I therefore command, in the name, and by direction of his Imperial Majesty, that you forthwith remove all non-catholic priests of Joachimsthal, and the adjacent country, who assemble their parishioners and preach sermons, and that you altogether abolish their divine service." After announcing this command to the people on the 12th of August, 1623, the governor, Ch. Grad of Grüneberg, locked up the church on the 19th, and three days after discharged the clergymen. The first minister of the town was Jacob Schober, a native of the place; G. Rickler, and Paul Münch were the deacons. Although these clergymen were thus forcibly removed, the corporation's right of presentation, nevertheless, remained inviolate. In the meanwhile they were spared the infliction of Popish priests; but that the children might not remain unbaptized, they appointed to this office, on the 19th of November, the school-director, Elias Pistorius, who was also employed, as long as they had no minister, to read the Gospels and Epistles on Sundays and holidays, and to give some explanation thereof. They gave him a weekly stipend of one guilder, and promised him defence and protection in case the enemy should call him to an account. That the

dismissed clergymen might not remain entirely destitute, the council caused a collection to be made for them among the citizens. They also presented the first minister with six, and each deacon with four and a half bushels of corn, besides several other things.

In 1624, the Dominican, Dr. G. Landherr, suffragan of Prague, arrived alone at Joachimsthal. He opened the church on the 14th of September, and consecrated it to the Roman worship. But he had a difficult post, and much to suffer from the dislike of the people, as appears in the following letter, which he addressed to the Archbishop:—
“With a heavy heart do I write these lines. I am here in Joachimsthal, in much persecution and danger of life. The council, it is true, received me in the most friendly manner, but the furious mob have almost persecuted me to death. I went into the church according to my orders, and waited there nearly two hours, but none appeared except a crowd of rude children. These malicious and cursed imps remained all the time, and threw dust from above; and what was most singular, stones were thrown at my head from all sides. May his Highness not suffer this occurrence to pass with impunity, and may the Governor be requested to chastise this disobedience! They called me Satan, devil’s imp, great scoundrel, and innumerable other nick-names. The best means, I should say, would be to send thither a few hundred soldiers, who know very well how to tame such rebels. Would that my commission were at an end in such dangerous places, and among such wicked heretics!”

Landherr also sent a report of his ill-treatment

to the town-council, and they instituted an examination of the miners, who were said to have been engaged to the plot. The anti-reformer was partly appeased by the assurances, that the council was decidedly opposed to such proceedings. But still considering himself in danger, he remained there only another night, and quitted the town early the next day. It was not until several years after this, that he returned and delivered a sermon in the church. He then gave personal and written instructions for the due observance of baptisms, funerals, and the regulation of public worship, according to the Papal forms. For this town, as well as several other places, had not yet received a regular Popish priest, because of the few who were yet qualified for the office.

In the year 1625, the commissioners again made their appearance at Joachimsthal. But through the intercession of the Elector of Saxony, the Emperor granted the citizens, and all mining towns of Bohemia, a further period of three years for consideration. They were indeed permitted to have their religious worship during that time, but were so persecuted with mockery and abusive language, that many who lived near the borders, left Bohemia and passed into Misnia. It was in order to prevent the departure of the miners, that the expulsion of the inhabitants of Joachimsthal had hitherto been delayed.

The people also applied to the Swedish commander-in-chief at Nürnberg, and to the Evangelical Princes of the Empire, to intercede in their behalf. They at least entertained the hope, that if the Protestants should be forced to surrender their

principal church, which they had built themselves, the Emperor would leave them the little chapel in the burial ground for the performance of divine service.

Until this period the inhabitants of Joachimsthal and the neighbouring villages, had remained in the Evangelical faith, having spent considerable sums in the purchase of such indulgence; but on the 4th of March 1626, the Governor Grad sent an order to the council and magistrates, that Joachimsthal, Platten, Gottesgabe, Aberdam, &c., should renounce the errors in which they had hitherto lived, and return to the Papal religion. Soon after, during Lent, the abbot of Teplitz and dean of Kadan, came to instruct them, because the Emperor had determined, that his subjects should be of one religion with himself; and, if they would not comply, that the soldiers should be sent to the town and billeted on them. Not long after this, Count Michna and two Jesuits made their appearance, bringing with them a severe imperial mandate, requiring all the citizens, and the new and old council, to embrace the Popish religion, within twenty-four hours, and receive the sacrament, or leave the town. Several of the new council promised to comply; the others, who would not do so, were left to choose between communicating according to the Papal church, and quitting the town within a week. At the expiration of the time, Matthias Dox was thrown into prison, but soon afterwards dismissed. The commissioners then ordered all the citizens to make no further delay, but instantly to embrace Romanism. They requested one day to consider the matter. This was granted, and many used

the respite to drive themselves in sledges to the Saxon town of Wiesenthal, where they continued. Count Michna, afraid that others would follow their example, gave immediate orders, to place the remaining citizens under arrest, and to punish most severely those who should leave their homes. Although the Governor Grad waylaid the emigrating and travelling Protestants for several weeks, and ordered the guards to lie in ambush for them, he failed in getting a single individual into his power. The rich, moreover, procured certain letters of protection from the grandees at the court of Vienna ; and thus gaining safety for themselves and their property, they could not at present be forced to apostatize. Thus matters stood until September, 1628, when orders were again sent to the town-council, that they must all become Romanists ; and the citizens were summoned to appear in the town-hall on the 3rd of October, but they one and all refused to change their creed. In January, 1629, Count Kolowrat ordered the governor and thirteen other citizens to appear before him in Luditz ; but they ventured to disobey. Indeed the inhabitants of Joachimsthal, were in this year cited nine times to appear in Prague. At length all Lutherans were dismissed from their appointments ; and every one was commanded to change his religion within six weeks time.

In 1630, the inhabitants of this place were again terrified, not only by the commissioners but also by the military. They remained constant, however, although teased by some faithless councilmen to apostatize, and endured many cruel sufferings from the licentious soldiery. In 1650, the citizens were eventually expelled from the

town by military violence. Since that time the inhabitants of Joachimsthal have adhered to the Papal creed.

Hitherto we have quoted from Protestant writers only, but we are enabled to corroborate their testimony from documents furnished by the persecutors themselves. The following is an "Account of the Catholic Reformation, in the domain of Nimes," written by Dr. Täubner, one of the commissioners.

"On the 23rd of February," he says, "after the celebration of the holy mass, all the inhabitants were summoned to the town-hall, where the command of his Imperial Majesty was read to them, namely, that his Imperial Majesty had determined seven years ago, to establish in his dominions the catholic religion, so salutary and necessary for salvation, but which had hitherto been suppressed by manifold heresies. For there were none other means, which could effect the restoration of peace, the benefit of the country, and the welfare of its inhabitants; it is therefore but just to obey such a paternal command, and follow the footsteps wherein our pious forefathers attained to their salvation. Sixty years have scarcely elapsed since the true faith was flourishing here, and divine worship was performed with great devotion. It would only be adding wickedness to injustice, to condemn our catholic ancestors; for we must confess, that salvation is theirs, who diligently adhered to the divine commandments, who erected churches and houses of devotion at great expense, who industriously propagated the catholic religion, practised works of love and mercy, and remained faithful and in the unity of the catholic church, unto their end. We also know from the

inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism ; consequently all differences of creeds must fall under suspicion, and they can be nothing more than weeds, which have been sown among the good seed, by the wickedness of man.

“ Who is there possessed of common sense, that would desire to conclude his life in such heresy ? Who can hope for peace and unity so long as there are such various errors ? Our dear country proves with abundant tears, what evils these religious divisions have produced, how many wars and insurrections they have occasioned, how many churches and cloisters they have destroyed, and that the (communion) cup for which they pretended to struggle, was not filled with the blood of Christ, but with the blood of many thousands of our countrymen. War is no advantage, we all require peace.”

“ This and the like we represented to them ; but they asked for a further delay. After dinner, we asked each one separately, what objections he had against the Catholic religion ? But as they all continued to request a postponement, which we only considered a subterfuge, and as we would not lose time, we divided them into two parties, and I and Lorentius Himmelblau, began to teach them the catechism, explain the articles of the creed, and instruct them in the confession and communion, so that forty-four of them have embraced the religion, made a confession and taken the sacrament in accordance with the catholic church. Among these was one Simon Tauber, son of a Lutheran preacher, who (fine fruit of *such* a tree !) said : ‘ that he would rather voluntarily go to hell,

than be drawn to heaven by the hair of his head.' But he has after all been drawn to our faith, not by the hair of his head, but by kind words, and sound arguments. We have found many other such obdurate persons, but by the grace of God, we have brought them into the right fold.

"Here we remained until the 5th of May, and during this time 801 persons from Nimes and Schwabitz, have made a confession and taken the sacrament. Before our departure we also burned the Lutheran books, but these were not many, the town having been burnt a few years before by the military.

"*This* reformation has easily and happily been accomplished, because the magistrate and other officers being absent, the burgomaster was zealous in acting against the heretics, though up to the time of this reformation he had himself been a Lutheran.

"From Nimes the commissioners went to Grafenstein, near Zittau, where it was more difficult and more dangerous, and they were obliged to depart without accomplishing any thing."

Who, on reading these visits of the commissioners is not reminded of the Reformation-visits, which took place a century before in Saxony, conducted in a very different spirit—though very similar to these in form? They were also dissimilar in their results, because the Saxon "visitors" attained their object without much opposition, and without harsh measures; they also found very uncultivated priests, and could promise to send better men, whereas the Bohemian commissioners dismissed the learned men, and for the most part could only supply their places with ignorant monks.

We shall now lay before our readers some account of the proceedings of the anti-reformation commissioners in the duchy of Steyermark, at the close of the 16th century, which chiefly occasioned the resistance of the Protestants to the Emperor Ferdinand, and their well-founded abhorrence of his principles. The following are extracts from a statement of Amandus Hanauer.

“The Archduke Ferdinand,” he says, “one day called on the Duke of Ferrara, and afterwards paid a visit to the Pope; the latter would not admit him to his table, until he had promised, by the holy sacrament administered by the Pope himself, that he would expel the Lutherans from his territories. When the archduke’s sister was about to be conveyed to Spain on her marriage, some foreign soldiers, under the pretence of escorting her, came to Grätz, and energetically fulfilled her wish not to leave the town until all the Lutheran clergymen were expelled;* and those whom the gentry and nobility had hitherto so faithfully protected, especially in the time of Ferdinand I., who could not dispense with the assistance of the nobility during the Turkish war, were now suddenly obliged to leave through the machinations of the Jesuits. In vain did the Lutheran states petition for their recall. The other towns of the Steyermark were also compelled to dismiss their Lutheran clergy, and the miners of Eisenerz, who would not obey, were arrested, and their church was blown up with gun-

* Some indulgence had hitherto been shewn, because the people of Steyermark supplied Ferdinand with money. It is said, that they sacrificed forty tuns or barrels of gold, each 40,000 dollars. See *Caroli Memorabilia*, i. 3.

powder. In Grätz they demolished the altar, and the people were prohibited, on pain of death, from celebrating the communion, or baptisms, or marriages in any other place, and even from singing German hymns at their homes. Many citizens were punished, and compelled to flee from the Jesuits."

The following statement of the same events was written by the Catholic provost, Jacob Staynz, counsellor of the Archduke Ferdinand: "When His Highness," he says, "perceived the sorrowful condition of religion in his three territories, (Steyermark, Kärnthen, and Krain) and seriously considered that he violated his conscience by tolerating the pernicious Augsburg confession in the capital, (Grätz) and by daily and hourly hearing with his own ears, as it were, the blasphemies of the shameless preachers against the clergy and secular authorities: he could not fail to lay the subject first before God, in prayer, and then to consult with his chief counsellors, how this insufferable evil might be remedied, and thus a greater extent of injury and opposition be prevented. It was, therefore, stated and proved, that for the sake of religion, a thorough reformation had become requisite, whereby the foul-tongued puffers, the preachers, being the authors and propagators of the misunderstandings between the sovereign and his people, together with the misled, erring, and obstinate subjects, should be expelled from the territories of His Highness. Furthermore, it was shewn that His Highness would not only be justified in effecting such a reformation, but that he would also thereby perform a salutary work, and bring once more into the right way a considerable number of poor and erring souls.

“And though the people of the Augsburg confession may oppose this, (as it is supposed they will,) and among other convenient subterfuges, appeal to the religious peace concluded within the Roman territories, they, after all, cannot advance a single solid or reasonable objection; even the religious peace alluded to is altogether against them, because the rulers, and not the people of the country, are considered and acknowledged to be the members of the Roman empire. It has also been found, that the “Pacification,” (as Protestants here call it,) affixed A. D. 1578 to the walls of Prague, would be of little avail to the Lutheran subjects; since the grants which they received from the late Archduke Charles, are in no wise binding on the royal heirs of the above named territories, but have merely been a “*personalis concessio seu permissio*,” and do not therefore extend to heirs and successors; as his Highness has indeed expressly declared, that he by no means wishes thereby to bind and constrain his heirs. Yea, his Highness, the late Archduke, met with so many vexations, reprehensive disrespect, and oppositions, both in religious and civil affairs, that he contemplated the revocation of such concession or rather toleration, on account of the gross abuses to which it gave rise; and he evinced such great remorse and sorrow, for this connivance, that he would certainly have abolished the same, if he had not been so suddenly removed from this world. His death has been much hastened by the Protestants, during the rebellion which broke out in Grätz.

“It is true that the expulsion of the Lutheran preachers, could not very well be accomplished

without previously giving information thereof to the people of the Augsburg confession, and it was also observed, that they would occasion all sorts of lamentations, hindrances, and petitions, and thus by delay, the affair would become the more difficult. But his Highness is not bound to parley with the confessionists, who have retained their preachers in Grätz, without any consent of his Highness, and therefore without any justly authorized title: the people, moreover, know that they have no power to prescribe laws to his Highness, in the towns and places of his own dominion. But for the sake of better order, his Highness has, September 13th, 1528, issued a decree to the governors and officers in Steyermark, commanding them to remove and abolish, within fourteen days, all church preachers, and the whole church and school system, as well in Grätz and Judenburg, as in the other towns and places belonging to his Highness, and to direct such preachers and schoolmasters, to quit the territories of his Highness, within the above specified time, and not to be seen therein again. The governors and officers are also, henceforth, to abstain from appointing such like preachers and servants in any town under the dominion of his Highness.

“This occasioned a lengthened and troublesome correspondence between his Highness and the governors, and the decree remained unenforced; his Highness, therefore, in order to effect the removal of the Lutheran ministry, together with its whole party, on December 23rd, sent a decree to the preachers, school-directors and schoolmasters, to the effect, that they are, by virtue of this royal decree, instantly and entirely to abstain from all preaching

and teaching, and to quit the principality and territories of his Highness within eight days, and not to return again under penalty of death.

“ But as the preachers only obeyed the first part of this decree, and shewed some resistance with regard to the second, by seeking here and there all kinds of protection and defence, their further stay being also likely to produce some evil consequences; his Highness sent them another very peremptory command, positively to depart the town of Grätz and its district before sun-set, and the whole principality within eight days, and under forfeiture of life not to be seen therein after the specified time.

“ Upon this, these useless birds arose, and each flew to that country where he hoped to find some fellow believers of his kind. This departure caused the Catholics great joy, but was an extreme grief to the Lutherans.

“ The commencement of this expulsion has taken place in Grätz, because the eyes of all were on this town, which was the greatest and worst nest of preachers, from whom the others in the country, strolling and wandering sectarians, were for the most part raised and ordained, according to their obnoxious custom.

“ Notwithstanding that after this there was no other than the true Catholic religious system practised in Grätz, the sectarians were still, at first, very rarely seen at the divine service or sermons. They yet hoped for the return of their preachers, whose poison they had inhaled to such a degree that they remained in obstinacy, until in the course of time their minds were softened by indulgences and other good means.

“ For the better maintenance and administration of this happy reformation, his Highness appointed Ch. Paradeyser, governor of the town of Grätz, and sent him privately to Austria for the purpose of collecting a regiment of soldiers. When these guardians of the town and protectors of the Catholic faith arrived, a singular fear pervaded all, and many a one lost both his courage and his hope of the return of the preachers. That all this has been so successfully accomplished, may be attributed to *fear* of the principal castle, which is capable of commanding and overpowering the town by its cannon. After the expulsion of the Grätz preachers, the others, who resided at Judenburg and Laybach, were also compelled to quit; the strictest orders and commands having been issued, though they were slowly and unwillingly enforced.

“ Thus it remained for some time, until the Diet of 1599, when the sectarian states of Kärnten, Krain and Steyer, made loud exclamations against this *reformation*, which they called a grievous *persecution* and restraint of conscience; and presented a long petition on the subject of religion. On which occasion, Ehrenreich Saran, the sub-marshal of Steyer, delivered a speech before his Highness, so severe, sarcastic, and bold, that all right-minded men who heard it, became very indignant and disgusted. But the goodness of the pious prince endured it all with patience, though it certainly deserved a different treatment. The confessionists then determined, to allow no grant to be made until they had received a satisfactory answer to their petition. This, however, his Highness refused, and demanded that the Diet

should previously be dissolved, to which the states, after manifold replies, at last yielded, but not without great difficulty. In the meantime, his Highness took into consideration the above-mentioned petition, and sent them a detailed reply and refutation of all their complaints, with this clear and summary declaration :—that his Highness would in nowise discontinue his salutary work of reformation, but rather sacrifice his life with his principality, and every thing else.”

This Romanist writer then details the treatment of the Protestants, by the commissioners in various towns of the principality, who were seconded on every occasion by the military ; in all respects it resembles the course adopted in Bohemia, as has already been described. The preachers were expelled, the churches blown up with gunpowder, the books were burnt, and the gallows were erected in the streets ; and thus, by intimidation and violence, the wretched inhabitants were compelled to join in the celebration of the Popish rites.

“ In Schladming,” he says, “ the Lutheran and Flacian preachers were busy at the same time among the miners and workmen, so that this place might well be called a regular emporium of heretics, and the chief fountain of every error. Here resided Hans Steinberger, a grand originator of the preachers, and the idol of the whole superstitious neighbourhood, a bad man, and one hardened in heresy, in whose possession were found many evil and obnoxious works, and the papers of a malicious correspondence, besides some rude lampoons designed for the mockery of true religion. This man has, for several years, done great mischief, and much

harm by the education of various sectarian preachers. He had also a library of all sorts of books, and fancied himself very clever, when after all he did not know how to distinguish the Lutheran from the Flacian doctrine. As this ringleader would not withdraw himself from the sectarians, nor render due obedience ; and since he has, moreover, been a hedge-preacher, and, as it were, half a minister, he was sent to Grätz, though he was afterwards liberated, notwithstanding his numerous and pernicious crimes. His and other heretical writings, together with the citizen's books, were all sacrificed to Vulcan, and destroyed in the fire."

The commissioners mention two things as remarkable in Grätz ; first, that the books burned there amounted to 10,000, and that the foundation of a Capuchin church was laid on the spot where they were destroyed ; and secondly, that an old Doctor of Laws, when asked of what religion he was, replied, "he was neither a Lutheran nor a Papist, but a Christian." When further asked who was his spiritual minister, he answered, "Christ is my spiritual pastor." After a long dispute, he was declared to be "the idol of the Lutherans at Grätz," and immediately expelled from the town. "He deserved (say the commissioners) something more ; but he has been spared on account of his great age." Their report thus concludes :—"May God reward this praiseworthy work of your Highness with grace, blessing, and prosperity here, and everlasting life hereafter ; may He grant your Highness health and happiness in your government, that the Catholic only true and apostolic religion may flourish under the shadow of your wing."

We cannot conclude this chapter without observing, that the sufferings of the Polish Protestants were, perhaps, still more horrid than any which were inflicted, either in the Steyermark, or in Bohemia. "At Lublin," says the esteemed author Wengersky, "in 1627, occurred such scenes as the following: By the instigation of the Papal clergy, several Protestants, who inhabited castles and mansions of the nobility, were, at that time, summoned by the sub-prefect of the town, to appear with their wives before the judge, and give an account of their religion. Among others, was a respectable lady, the wife of William Tuck, a Scottish merchant, who was himself absent on affairs of business. She appeared, and was asked by the prefect, and a Catholic priest, named Laurentius, whether she was a Catholic, and attended the confession? She replied: 'No, I am evangelical, and confess my sins to God, before whom I am a sinner!' 'But why,' continued the other, 'have you departed from the Roman Catholic faith, and who has induced you so to do?' She answered: 'God has effected this in my heart; and I must ever be grateful to him for it.' The prefect became much enraged at these expressions of the undaunted lady. He, therefore, spoke to her very harshly, and only left her to choose between renouncing the Evangelical faith, and being cast into prison. She was advised to choose the former, but steadily refused compliance. She was, therefore, fettered and imprisoned. No mercy was to be looked for, although she had five children, and the youngest, an infant at the breast, could not dispense with a mother's care. The other Protestants made intercessions, but in vain. On

the contrary, the Prefect threatened to put her to the torture, if she did not attend mass and confess within three days. The Priest Laurentius added, moreover: 'Shortly this will be the case with all the Protestants of Lublin; for the official has fully made up his mind to purify the town from the Lutheran heresy.' The Jesuits visited the lady in her prison, in order to urge her, by promises or threats, to apostatize, but no Protestant was allowed to approach her; she nevertheless remained firm in her resolution."

From these instances and innumerable others that might be adduced, it is evident that the same direful spirit of persecution animates Popery in all places, and at all times—it is not changed; but merely wears a mask where it is liable to be controlled by a superior power.

CHAPTER VII.

SUFFERINGS OF THE PEASANTRY—CONSTANCY DISPLAYED BY MANY OF ALL RANKS—INSURRECTIONS IN BOHEMIA—PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES AND WALDENSES.

THE Peasantry of Bohemia, chiefly at the intercession of the Palatine of Hungary, had obtained certain privileges from the Emperor Matthias in 1610, whereby the free exercise of the Protestant religion was secured to them. But now these privileges were all abolished. In the villages a beginning was made, by depriving the flocks of their shepherds, the ministers of the gospel, even when there were no Catholic priests to appoint in their stead.* They then wrested the Bibles and other religious books from the hands of the people, in order, as they said, that heresy should not always find fresh sustenance. After this the monks arrived, who did not speak harshly at first, but entreated and adjured the people, at the same time that they affirmed the truth of their religion with oaths and execrations. They gave them hopes of lasting peace, success and divine blessings, and assured

* At first the peasantry engaged less of their attention, because they thought, that so soon as the ministers should be expelled and the nobility converted, the people would of their own accord return to Romanism. But after a few years all further indulgence was at an end.

them, that they had reason to believe, that the Emperor and the lords of the manors would ease their burdens, and shew them many favours. They themselves also offered money and corn in the time of scarcity, if the people would only change their religion, and by this means they certainly enticed a few to apostacy ; of which an instance occurred at Kassenberg. A certain monk, who by the conversion of the heretics was desirous of gaining the favour of heaven and the special praise of his superiors, promised a bushel of corn to every one who would be converted. Several needy persons came forward and offered to make a confession. But the monk, anxious about his store of grain, resolved not to spend it so freely, but to give a less quantity in future. A poor man coming afterwards was accordingly offered only half a bushel of corn. As soon as this was consumed, he returned and asked for the remaining half, which the monk refused to give ; when the other inquired : “ Well ! is my soul then of less value, than that of other people ? ” and went away in a very perturbed state of mind.

The contemporaneous reports proceed to say, that from foxes the priests became converted into wolves. They wished to enforce attendance at mass, by compulsory measures, and lists of all the parishioners were given to the clerk, with instructions to mark the absentees, in order that each case of absence should be punished with a fine. While any of the neighbouring Evangelical churches remained, if any one attended them, or went to places where Protestant worship was secretly performed, he was punished by fine, imprisonment, or even by flagellation. The soldiers were also instructed, to enter and plunder the churches, and disperse the

people. We will give an instance. One Christmas-eve (1623) a great number of people being assembled in a church near Kuttenberg, suddenly, two cavalry-officers, from the Kuttenberg garrison, surrounded the church with their troop, rushed in, and dragging the minister, G. Barth, from the altar, tore off his surplice, and led him away prisoner; he succeeded however in making his escape. The consecrated bread they threw upon the ground, and overturned and trod the chalice under their feet. They then demolished the whole communion service, and pillaged the persons of both sexes. Some were completely stripped and had to run home through the deep snow naked; many were wounded, and the women and young females were violated even in the temple and the vestry. The booty, as if it had been wrested from an enemy, was publicly sold in Kuttenberg, and there were miscreants ready to buy up. Similar events occurred in other places.

But still they continued to threaten severer chastisements, thereby desiring to intimidate the people. At Bürglitz, in December, 1624, the Governor published the following command of Prince Lichtenstein: "That the names of all such as did not renounce their heretical errors, whether men or women, old or young, citizens or aliens, masters or servants should be scheduled, and the list thereof sent to the royal chancery, there to await further instructions as to what should be done with their persons and property."

All non-catholics were then prohibited from marrying, from solemnizing the burial of the dead, from having any baptisms, and also from acting as sponsors. This was a thunderbolt which struck deeply into the hearts of the people. If any one

had his child secretly baptized, he had to endure a lengthened incarceration, from which he could only be liberated either by apostacy, or by submitting to an enormous fine.

The peasants were summoned to appear in the towns. If they refused, they were brought in as prisoners by the soldiers and other officious assistants. The plan adopted was to surprise them during the night, and taking them from their beds, drive them like herds of cattle to the town ; and this was done even in the severest frost, and with these poor people they literally filled the public prisons, towers, cellars, and stables, where hunger and thirst, filth, cold, and heat, nearly deprived them of life. At Plumlau they cast a surgeon, named Joachim, and others, into a tower full of obnoxious reptiles. In Prostanna several hundred people were confined in a stable of the castle, the windows of which were all bolted, and for want of air many of them swooned. Among others who were taken up for dead, was Jacob Ulizky, a grey-headed man, eighty years of age, whose son Matthäus, minister of Czaslau, had also to endure fearful sufferings.* Kunash, the president of the commission, only laughed at this, and said, "I will soon wake the fellows from the dead." He had cold water thrown over them, and some recovered ; but the aged Ulizky expired in his presence, and he ordered him to be dragged off and put under ground. The survivors he dismissed, after extorting a promise of conversion from them.

In some places barbarity had reached to such a degree of refinement, that the people were placed in the cesspools of their privies, in order to punish

* See page 45.

them by this singular torture. Thus it was with Nicol Szarawez and others at Schlan. At Leito-mischl and elsewhere, men and women were confined promiscuously, so that decency could scarcely be observed. In order to torture more exquisitely, and obtain their object the more speedily, they even invented new kinds of prisons. At Holeschau in Moravia, for example, they constructed cages of oak-wood. Whoever was confined therein, could neither sit nor stand, on account of the narrow space, but could only stoop with a bent back, and in a crooked posture. It was scarcely possible to endure it beyond the third hour. The body became stiff, there was no resting-place for the limbs, the spirit sunk from indignation and horror, and could not be any longer sustained. Now and then one was asked if he would voluntarily become a Catholic? Some promised they would. Those who candidly said No, were thrust back into the hole of torture, until they also had perjured themselves by saying, that they voluntarily embraced Popery.

In Herzmanmiestez, near Chrudim, the councilmen having refused to set an example of apostacy, were imprisoned, and most severely abused. The first of them was set in the market-place, on a military ass—a sharp-edged board with four legs. He was an old, grey-headed man, but yet endured disgrace, mockery, and bodily pain for more than six hours, until the evening, being incessantly tormented by the Jesuits, while his wife and children around him filled the air with their lamentations, when he said Yes, and was taken half dead from the board of torture; and being unable either to use his legs, or any other of his limbs, he was carried to the father-confessor. Many begged earnestly rather

that they should kill them than force them to apostatize from their faith. But they were answered, "The Emperor does not thirst for your blood, but for your salvation." Others, on expressing such a desire, were answered scornfully: "O, you would perhaps like the honour of martyrdom? But you are worthless scoundrels, and only seek to gain celebrity!" This answer was given to John Palaczko, when, on being called upon in various ways by the commissioners to renounce his religion, he fell on his knees, clasped his hands, and fervently requested them to cut off his head rather than force him to violate his conscience. In a similar manner they served John Elias of Fulnek, with others elsewhere. And this is the only reason why Bohemia and Germany cannot shew more martyrs, notwithstanding the lengthened persecution during the reign of Ferdinand. People were not wanting who would cheerfully have suffered death for conscience' sake. But their persecutors rather endeavoured to bear them down by tedious tortures, than exhibit them to the world as martyrs for the sake of religion. All those, however, against whom they could adduce the slightest pretext of political accusation, they sentenced to death, as was the case with those killed at Prague in 1621. This experience was also made by that good student, Andreas Chebdow, in the year 1622. Returning from his native town Podjebrad to his patron, Count Thurn, in Glatz, he was seized and carried to Königgrätz, where he was put to death; and the people were told that he had been the bearer of treasonable messages. Nothing was, however, found upon him, except a few notes from several persons

to their friends, and no torture could force any other confession from him.

The *reformers* of that time had arranged, never to enter on any proofs from the word of God, but merely to assign church authority and power as a reason for obedience. If any one, therefore, appealed to the holy scriptures, he only met with a disdainful and ironical answer. They said: "The Bible is imperfect, mysterious, ambiguous, the source of heresies, the refuge of heretics, *and does not in the least concern laymen.*"* Some noblemen drove their vassals into the churches, locked the doors, and compelled them to take the communion in *one* form. At Knesawiz, near Schlan, the peasants fled, but they were pursued by an armed force, and driven to unite with some drunken men from a neighbouring tavern in making a confession, and taking the sacrament *sub una*; and when any one closed his mouth against such a communion, Kolowrat, and the other persecutors, were at hand to open it violently with a pike.

The formula for abjuring the chalice, and confessing Romanism, was as follows: "I swear to God Almighty, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints that I voluntarily, and *without compulsion*, return to the holy Roman Catholic faith, which I acknowledge to be the only true, ancient, and saving faith. I solemnly renounce the chalice; I will never partake thereof myself, and will dissuade my children, and others entrusted to my care, from so doing. I also

* Precisely the same impious conduct as is arrogantly and barefacedly adopted by the Romanists of Great Britain in the present day; and yet Protestants, closing their eyes and ears to the blasphemy, call Romanism Christianity, and give Papists the right hand of fellowship, calling them 'our brethren of the Romish persuasion.' ! !

engage to continue steadfast in this religion, and to abhor all those who confess any other. So help me God, his mother, and all the saints !” But their manner of *life*, after they had thus abjured was not everywhere directly attended to. Some authorities were satisfied with having once exerted their power over their subjects, and troubled them no further.

When the new converts could come to Evangelical ministers, they lamented their fall, and again took the sacrament in both forms. But others were re-attacked, especially where it was discovered that all was not quite right with their conversion. There were also imperial commands and directions issued from the commissioners to force the people a second, and a third time to confession.

Those who had fled were after all unable to remain in their places of refuge for fear of ill-treatment. For if they had sought a hiding-place in the forests, or the mountains, they were soon driven forth by hunger and necessity. Some, indeed, fled to the Protestants, as long as these were anywhere tolerated, but the whole land seemed full of *traitors*. They were, therefore, very soon, summoned and either by soldiers or other violent means compelled to return home. Orders were also frequently issued that no shelter should be given to a fugitive under a penalty of 100 dollars. On the 3rd of March, 1628, the fine was increased to 100 dollars per night. What were the poor people to do ? To leave the country was extremely difficulty for those who could only speak Bohemian, and who had no knowledge of the towns or the roads. They therefore were driven to desperate means ; and forcibly resisted not only the soldiers

and the Jesuits, their merciless oppressors, but they also took up arms against their lawful superiors, who had abandoned them to their malice. In the Moravian mountains many succeeded in defending their religion with an armed hand, and maintained themselves against the imperial soldiers. The large number of revolting peasants in Austria, caused the Emperor a great deal of uneasiness. But the subjects of Baron Terzky in Bohemia, who had taken up arms in March, 1628, were, notwithstanding, that they mustered 4000 men, soon overpowered by the military, and condemned to various modes of death. In the domain of Friedland, an insurrection broke out in 1629, during which the commissioner saved himself by flight, but a Jesuit lost his life. This gave occasion to other meetings in various districts, and to resistance against those violent measures by which they were driven to desperation. But the imperial troops soon arrived, and many peasants perished in the struggle, others were imprisoned, and the rest only saved their lives by joining the Roman church.

In addition to the means used in the towns, and of which the soldiers were complete adepts, they adopted a peculiar mode of compulsion in the country. They also *reformed* the oxen. As the time of fetching fodder for the cattle came round, the soldiers occupied the meadows, and prevented the people from taking any grass, which produced such a bellowing in the stables, that the peasants considered themselves *compelled*, on the following day, to get a Popish ticket of confession, because without it they could gain no possession of their meadows. In this way the peasants were forced—to have pity on their cattle.

Increasing poverty among the people also contributed towards depriving them of their 'obstinacy,' as it was termed. The "Book of Persecutions" has a particular chapter on this subject, from which we take the following paragraph.

"In those times when the inhabitants of the country had to sacrifice so much gold and silver, the Emperor coined a large amount of money, made of copper, with a slight admixture of silver, of different values, so that the people, who were unconscious of the deception, fancied themselves rich. But in the mean time, the soldiers knew how to wrest the good coin from them. The price of gold and silver rose to tenfold their former value.* When in 1624, an imperial rix-dollar was worth ten Bohemian guilders, an Hungarian ducat, eighteen; the Emperor suddenly reduced the coins to the tenth of their nominal value, and thus caused indescribable distress. It is said, that the secretary of state, afterwards Count Michna, the inventor of such artifices, boasted of the Bohemians having thereby become more impoverished, than if the soldiery had been quartered upon them for ten years in succession. After the money had thus disappeared from their purses, it was decreed, that all sums lent by a creditor in the time of the rebellion, should be forfeited; and that whatever sums had been lent prior to it, the capital should be partly reduced, and the remainder paid within ten years only, and that the whole interest be remitted."

Among the troubles which then distracted the minds of the people, were moreover their peculiar

* The "clipping" of those times (1622) is well known from old complaints on the subject.

anxieties with regard to the instruction of their children, since all the Evangelical teachers were driven out of the country. In order to propagate their true biblical views in their families, the people had frequently to instruct their children themselves. But there was another trouble connected with the one already mentioned, which we shall illustrate by a passage from the life of the celebrated Pastor Seyfert of Görlitz. His education was an affair of great difficulty to his parents, who had often to flee, and to remain whole months in the forests and on the mountains, in frost and snow, where they were pursued and persecuted because of their religion. And thus, though they had placed their son, for his education, with G. Biertiegeln, an exiled preacher, who had formerly been the minister of Schönwalde in the domain of Friedland, and who instructed him in the catechism, the Latin grammar, and in music, his instruction was but too frequently interrupted. When the Papal clergy, but especially the Jesuits, instigated the authorities to search the country and take the most talented children, either to place them in the Catholic schools, or compel them to enter the military service, the parents of Seyfert became alarmed for their son, and therefore placed him with some one at Görlitz."

Among the other inflictions, which the country people endured, may also be reckoned, that of being left for years without any spiritual teachers, for even Popish priests were not sent to those places which had been deprived of their Evangelical ministers, and when at last, such priests were sent, they often proved to be, as we have seen above, very abandoned men. But the Protestants preferred having

no priest of the other party, because they had then less to suffer ; besides, at the same time being obliged to connive at many deceptions. The following farces were considered by the Popish priests, as so many proofs of profound wisdom. Wishing to persuade the people that the Virgin Mary was *weeping* over the unconverted members of the community, *i. e.* the Protestants, they contrived to place little fishes in a vessel of water behind the image, so as that by their motion drops of water should be forced to its eyes, and these were the tears exhibited to the gaze of the befooled spectators. In other places the priest had a crucifix, the joints of which might secretly be moved by means of wires. The priest having his hands between its two bearers, could easily manage that the image of Christ should salute the Romanists with an inclination of the head, and that it should turn to the other side whenever it was faced by a Protestant. A similar trick was played with an image of Mary, so made, as either to extend the arms as if to embrace, or repel any object standing before it.

The following passage from the celebrated Amos Comenius, comprises a summary of the treatment of the people in those years of suffering. This author says :—" When the protector of our liberty, the Emperor Rudolph, was no more, and they had agreed to commence and carry out the resolutions of the council of Trent in Bohemia, then the Catholics, contrary to all holy rights and privileges, incited the people, by refined tortures, first to impatience and then to revolt. This latter was what they aimed at ; for now was presented a plausible pretext to suppress them with the whole force of the Catholic league as traitors. When our enemies, in

1620, had gained the victory, and the first men of the state had been either executed or dispersed; they banished by a general law all the clergy, because they were said to have been the authors of the insurrection, *i. e.* delay in obeying the command, at once to become Catholics;—and then endeavoured to bring the people to a change of religion, at first by enticing them with flattering words, and soon after by means of terror and torment. At last, when after six years, they had by these methods gained over very few, they, in 1627, banished the whole Evangelical nobility, from their native country, and began to force the people by imprisonments and tortures, to abjure the chalice and promise obedience to the Pope. The people were indeed more willing to sacrifice their blood, than their souls; but were only laughed at for expressing such a wish, and the armed apostles replied, that the Emperor was not thirsting for their blood, but for their soul's welfare. For in Rome, they had come to the resolution: that since the experience of a whole century had proved, that the fever of the Lutheran heresy could not be cured by the letting of blood; another rule must be adopted, namely, that regimen, which comprehends banishment, incarceration, and all kinds of jading tortures. By such a system they accomplished so much in forty years, that there was no longer an Evangelical church, or the solemn exercise of religion, or even a Bible existing in Bohemia and Moravia. For every copy of the holy scriptures, and all the purer books of edification, that they could obtain, were one and all destroyed by fire. And those who, in order to preserve their faith, have fled from their country—

which is the case with thousands—have either lost their firmness through the distress of exile, or been so diminished by unceasing misery, that there is but a small remnant left.”

We purpose to give in the history of two individual cases, a faithful description of the manner in which the country people were treated.

“ Of the many examples (says Holyk)* which I have seen and heard, the following is peculiarly remarkable. There was a very aged peasant in the village of Grusitz (or Hrusitz,) whose name was Peschek. He intended, in 1650, to escape from the Papists, by going secretly into Saxony. But being betrayed by some, who suspected his design, he was surprised at night and seized in his own house; thence led like a thief to the castle of Hradek, in the domain of Wallenstein, and there thrown into the deepest dungeon, where he was subjected to the endurance of great pain, filth, hunger, thirst, &c.;† but he remained firm, and as often as he was asked, if he would renounce his heresy, and become a Roman-Catholic? he replied, with a candid spirit and an undaunted mind, that he could say nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it was impossible for him to die in the papal religion. When again called forth from his deep prison, and asked by the Jesuits if he would not yet be warned and persuaded to em-

* Both in his “ Papal Scourge,” and in his “ Bitter Tears of Bohemia,” Holyk, as a Jesuit scholar at the time, was eyewitness of those scenes, which he yet felt and remembered in his old age. See also Wetzel’s History of Hymns, iii. 380.

† Tp “ rot” in the prison was at that time a very common expression, and it is also mentioned by Luther in his larger catechism.

brace the Catholic religion ; or if his heart had become so full of the devil that he could by no means be reclaimed ? He answered : “ Dear men, I have nothing to do with the devil, but I adhere to my Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, who died for my sins and rose for my justification.” Then becoming very angry they said : “ This man fully deserves to be burned.” Being in great agony the pious old man then exclaimed : “ O that God would take me from this world, that I might no longer hear such blasphemies.” He then turned to them and said : “ Fathers, do you really think that you would be justified in burning me ?” Many who were present at this touching and mournful speech of the aged man, could not refrain from shedding tears ; particularly when they saw how much he was distressed. The Jesuits perceiving this, induced the authorities to confine him again in his former prison. But previously the much afflicted confessor was scourged by the jailer ; and then placed in the dungeon, where he continued a whole year until the following Easter. Upon being taken out once more, he was sharply questioned, by the Jesuits and the Dean, who endeavoured by various tortures to force him to the Popish religion, but all in vain. The good old man was so exhausted by torture that he could no longer raise his head or his eyes, or stand on his feet ; and he was unable to speak. At length, when he could neither eat nor drink, they placed him in a less horrible prison, where he remained a day and a night. The next morning some Jesuits again came to him with a wood crucifix, and asked if he would acknowledge this as his Redeemer

and Saviour? His answer was: "I know and fully believe that Christ and not this wood, has been crucified for me. Christ, who is indeed both man and God, died for me." They were mute and gnashed their teeth. But being unable to make him speak in any other manner, they at last said: "Such a hardened heretic deserves nothing better, than to be thrown on the fire, or in the open fields to the wild beasts." He replied, "In God's name, do with me whatever you like! Whether you burn me, or cause me to be devoured by wild beasts, still I am certain that my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, will take my soul to heaven." Then exclaiming: "O Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me!" he began the Lord's Prayer; but before he had ended it, he gave up the ghost, in a manner so placid and gentle that he seemed to sleep. O how great was the weeping and the sympathy of us all, for this aged man, as we stood around, and beheld him with bleeding hearts! I cannot describe the whole scene, but when I only think of this act, I am unable to refrain from weeping bitter tears. This is a striking example of a simple Bohemian peasant.* Is it not a terrible thing, that they wish

* His grandchild left his native country, where the persecution now raged, and went to Silesia, Dresden, and finally to Zittau. His children have been more successful, than the fugitives could venture to hope for; since during five generations they have repeatedly been appointed to respectable offices in theological, medical and other departments, and have thus, by the blessing of God, been raised to affluence through banishment. This little history will also explain to the reader the reason why the author of the present work, has investigated this portion of Church history with such particular care, and why he has endeavoured to make himself master of a subject so important and yet so little known. Comp. Lusatian Magazine, 1780, 157.

to compel the poor and simple-minded people, by such persecutions to embrace their religion?" Thus far the eye-witness Holyk.

In 1629, twenty-two peasants from the village Zlonitz, were brought as prisoners to the town of Schlan. On the road, they cheerfully sung hymns on the resurrection of Christ. They were accused of having returned to heresy, after embracing the Popish religion, and of having celebrated the sacrament among themselves. They were imprisoned separately, and soon after repeatedly examined. The chief of these men was said to have been a certain G. Balzer, who officiated as their minister, notwithstanding his inability to write. He was betrayed by his own landlord, who having turned to the Papal church, wished to obtain the favour of the Emperor, and therefore called upon the council of Schlan, to remove this disobedient man. When Balzer appeared before the council, the accusation was read to him. He was urged to reply, but asked for time, and promised to give his answer in writing. As soon as he had procured a person to write for him, he dictated the following in the Bohemian language: "I have heard the accusation pronounced against me. The first point is, that I have proved faithless to God, my Creator, and to my own conscience, by having embraced, and then again forsaken the Catholic religion, and thus become guilty of perjury. To this I reply; that I was at that time induced to sin against God, my best judge, only by the most severe imprisonment. Alas! I was then too weak in faith, and did not sufficiently trust in God, who is able to save his own from the hands of their enemies. I felt God's

chastisement for this sin, my conscience being troubled during a whole year, so that I scarcely ventured to hope for his mercy. Then remembering that sinners of old, found mercy by repentance, I called upon God night and day; moistening my couch with my tears, for I loathed myself a sinner. And God, the true and the just, who desires not our destruction, "nor the death of the sinner, but that he should turn and live," did in his own time reveal unto me his mercy. I received what I prayed for; He sent me an angel, and my eyes saw a light brighter than the sun. At that instant I received the Holy Spirit, and felt myself newly born; I received the power of distinguishing between good and evil spirits, and with this gift was imparted to me the commission to reprove the sins of man. I speak no untruths; for the Holy Spirit is not concealed in those to whom he is given. He is not to announce future events to the wicked, but mercy to the repenting sinner. For which reason I was forbidden by the Holy Ghost from exercising any works of the flesh, or worldly desires, which only rebel against the righteous Judge of the living and the dead, and against his elect saints. This is also well known to Baron Walkleun. They have hindered me these four years from proclaiming the truth; but the more they hindered me, the more did God strengthen me by His Spirit. They may also remember that I came to the castle of Zlonitz, to proclaim the truth, and exhort them to repentance, as the Lord Jesus commanded me by his Holy Spirit, for three days in succession. On the last of these days I had a book with me. As my accuser says that I am a misleader of souls, I reply

and maintain, that it certainly is the will of the Lord Jesus that you also should hear me. They were not strong enough at that time to wrest the book from me ; yet they refused to glorify God.

But we will break off, giving only the beginning of his defence, in order to shew also the character of those times by the history of this man.

As this written declaration was composed in an unusual style, the priests and Jesuits went to him (no one else being admitted) to treat personally on the subject, and dissuade him from his purpose. But he adhered to his resolution, and said though indeed only a layman, and not able either to read or write, yet what he had preached, and was yet about to preach, he had not of himself, but of the Holy Spirit. "It is certainly true," said he, "as I have lately and frequently declared, that after my great fall I spent a whole year in tears. But at last the Lord Jesus had mercy on me, and shewed me his wounds, through which the wounds of my conscience were instantly healed."

He related this event to the Jesuits just as he had previously done it to the people. If they began to dispute with him on the holy sacrament, on the only intercession of Christ, &c., he always referred to the proper passages in the Bible, and would insist thereon. He announced punishment to the persecutors of the people of God ; and predicted a reunion to the flock of Christ which was now dispersed by wolves. Being at length sent to Prague, he there received sentence of death. On the 14th of August, 1629, they took him to the gibbet before day-break, in order to prevent a concourse of people. Here his head was struck off, his body

quartered (as was generally done with criminals), and every part thereof was exposed in the public roads.

Towards a proper description of the treatment of the country people, we are, in the absence of the anti-reformation reports, only able to find single instances. Some examples will shew the proceedings of the persecutors. The following is a threatening letter of the often-mentioned anti-reformer Kolowrat:—"I, Sdenko Leo Liebsteinsky, hereby announce, that although the inhabitants of Friedland have been hitherto supplied with excellent priests, the heresies among them have nevertheless decreased only in a very small degree. This has been caused by the boldness of a clever preacher at Weigsdorf, who assembled the people to his heretical legends, sermons, and ungodly "communion sacrilege," and who also, while the Swedish army was near, with great temerity, took possession of the Bohemian church, formerly closed against him, and persevered in these attempts, so destructive to the souls of men. As these practices are opposed to the laws of the country, and against the holy purpose of his Imperial Majesty; I hereby peremptorily command all the inhabitants of the town and domain of Friedland, to adhere solely to their appointed priests, to honour and follow them with particular pleasure, to avoid secret conventions, and go neither to the soul-destroyer (!) of Weigsdorf, (where the church will again be closed) nor to any other church, that thus they may avoid the punishment of being burdened with a body of military, which I would graciously rather prevent."

At the same time he wrote to Grizlaw, the governor of Friedland, to the following effect :—

“ Since so few people of Friedland are Catholics, and they prefer attending heretical sermons at Weigsdorf, you will positively close the church, which is situate on Bohemian soil. You will also reprove Melchior and Christoph Gersdorf, the proprietors of the place alluded to, for having permitted, in the time of the Swedish army, and for still permitting, the preacher to perform clerical functions; you will further also instruct them to dismiss those who run after the preacher, and inform them that the right which they fancy they possess is solely vested in the domain of Friedland. The people must also be punished and prevented by the soldiers of the castle from going on Sundays and holy-days to the preacher of Weigsdorf. I write this from a friendly feeling, as your connivance in this affair may occasion you some trouble, and his excellency, your gracious patron, might incur the displeasure of his Imperial Majesty. For the present Emperor is very zealous in matters of religion, and has issued a new and severe edict against the non-catholics.”

Some, however, of all ranks among the Bohemians maintained their constancy. Among whom we will mention a lady,* Katharina Ottia Loss, for-

* The Jesuits were particularly spiteful to the ladies. Peter Andreas once said at Prague, “ It were much better for a Catholic to have the devil than a Lutheran woman near him; for the former might be driven away with adjurations and holy water, but neither the cross, nor the consecrated oil, nor baptism was of any avail against Lutheran women.” See “Deductions-Schrift,” p. 239.

merly of Teschobus ; who, notwithstanding the Emperor's command to expell even widows, would neither embrace the Popish religion, nor depart the country. She was left to choose one of the two, but she answered the commissioners : " I cannot leave the country, because I am short of money : and my conscience forbids me to change my religion. You may order what else you like, but I shall entirely trust to my God." She was then allowed to remain, either because they were ashamed, or that it had been agreed between them not to kill any one merely on account of religion. Thus it happened to two Moravian citizens, Martin Stransky of Drociz and Simeon Sierakowska of Krumau, whom neither promises nor tortures could induce to apostatize, and who were ready and willing to die for their religion. Their firmness tired out the commissioners, who ultimately dismissed them from prison, and knowingly allowed them to quit the country.

A remarkable instance of constancy was also given by four tradesmen during the Kossenbergh anti-reformation. Among nearly three hundred vassals there were ten only who had courage enough to suffer imprisonment. Six of these yielded to the cold and hunger of the prison, but four were ready to endure further trials. Their names were Sigismund Hrussowsky, Nicholas Szarowez, John Aksamit, and Lorenz Karlik. Other means were now tried with them, and though they had already been suffering a considerable time, they were exposed five weeks longer, in the months of February and March, to a severe frost, and then suffered hunger nine successive days, in which time they did not

receive a morsel of bread. They had at first a small piece; with which, and their own water, they had to sustain life. At last, a Jesuit and the governor of the castle came, and threatened to treat them with still greater severity, unless they renounced the Protestant faith. Sigismund replied: "We will rather suffer hunger, the halter, or the stake, than sin against our God!" As they went away, he called after them: "Whatever you intend to do, do speedily!" Henceforth they received, twice a week, a small quantity of bread, and a draught of water. They were, moreover, separated. Aksamit was left in their late prison. Nicholas was confined in the pit of a water-closet, and Sigismund in the flue of a chimney, no relative being allowed to approach either of them. At last, when every thing had been tried in vain for the space of twenty-one weeks, and no hope could any longer be entertained of their conversion, they were fined, and then banished from the country. They cheerfully left their property, and went to Poland. Karlik, however, died in consequence of his sufferings, before he could reach the frontier.

We must also mention those with admiration, who, as inflexible martyrs, (Phil. i. 7.) endured a lingering and painful imprisonment even unto death. Before the general persecution, much was suffered by John Burjan Kochowez, an esteemed and learned man, who was imprisoned by the Princess Lobkowitz, because he would not, according to her wish, confess the dogmas of the Popish church. He proved steadfast, though tormented by the monks and Jesuits for the long period of three years. He

died in his prison, and was interred beneath the gibbet at Raudnitz.

Near Leitomischl, a peasant suffered a long imprisonment, and much ill-treatment from the priests. He only was found faithful among three hundred vassals belonging to that domain. In his horrible dungeon he fell sick, and a Jesuit came to admonish him. But he said: "Away, tempter: to-day I must go to the heavenly sacrament of Christ." He shortly after expired, and was buried near the place of execution.

Still more admirable was the steadfastness of a clerk at Dobrzisch. This little town, with all its appurtenances, had been presented by the Emperor to Don Martin de Huerda. As the clerk was not inclined to remain in the service of so severe a master, he resigned his office, and engaged himself as private tutor with a miller. When Don Martin heard this, he caused both the tutor and the miller to be brought in chains to the castle of Welhartiz, and thrown into the deepest dungeon. This was in 1623. The miller was soon liberated, but the clerk remained there a whole year, even to the day of his death. The dungeon was in so horrible a state, that both his legs rotted off; yet he was so supported by his faith, that he sung cheerful psalms in his prison. Shortly before his death, he sent word to Don Martin, that he had already lost both his legs, and was full of worms; but the tyrant would not believe it. Thus the martyr died, faithful to Christ, on the anniversary of the very day on which he had entered the prison. He was drawn from the dungeon, and Huerda would not allow the body to

be carried through the castle-gate, but had it thrown across the wall into the ditch, whence it was taken and buried by a shepherd. Such were the sufferings of an innocent man ! O ! how great are the miseries displayed in these few pages ! The tortures practised by so-called Christians on their Christian brethren, were little inferior to those wherewith, in the first centuries, the heathen persecuted the followers of Christ. This may certainly not have been the intention of Ferdinand II., but was done by officers who may have exceeded their authority, and by soldiers who delighted in the sufferings of others. In a similar manner the priests demanded much more of the people than was required by the prescribed confession of faith. Some, evidently took a pleasure in being the executioners of mental torture, and compelled the people to confess the very contrary of their former faith.

The people were more easily brought to Romanism in those places where Protestantism had only been known during the last fifty or one hundred years. The old Hussites and Utraquists remained the most firm, and even when they were compelled to submit to superior force, they remained Protestants at heart. As long as they possibly could, they secretly celebrated the Evangelical worship. We have already mentioned their assemblies in deep forests, where the banished ministers also thought themselves bound to assist their former communities, and to officiate, though in fear and distress.

There is another forest-scene in the work of Holyk, which, as it is the report of an eye-witness, we will here communicate :—“ I remember

(says he) when I was a child about seven years old,* that my parents, with some others, were one day in a large and dark forest. There was no one but ourselves, and we were sitting very quietly in a waggon, under the thickest trees, which were covered with snow, and served as a roof. When I think of that, I am lost in admiration of God's exceeding goodness, whereby we have been preserved. Among other things, I yet remember, that several hundred men were assembled in the great forest, where they built themselves huts with the fir-branches and other foliage in such numbers, that they almost formed a hamlet or little town. (The distinguishing marks given may yet be seen to this day.) On one side of these huts were two ponds containing abundance of fish, and on the other, near a hill, a bell was fixed between two trees, with which to assemble the people. Here I saw two ministers, administer the holy sacrament to the people. Who would then have thought that the Lord had thus preserved for himself a church in this dark and dreary forest! Some time afterwards, each of us returned to his home, where we could once more worship God without hindrance, and receive the holy sacrament according to the ordinance of Christ. But this privilege did not last long; for as soon as the noblemen returned to their estates,† the people were prohibited from attending

* He was afterwards, like many other boys, taken from his parents, and placed under the Jesuits. In the great Salzburg persecution of 1685, they also retained some children under fifteen years of age.

† That is, in the summer.

the Evangelical preaching. Nevertheless, we frequently assembled in the church, not indeed in the town,* but in the nearest village ; and in the absence of the minister, a tolerably learned man who is yet alive used to read and expound the gospel. But the pious Christians were speedily deprived even of this privilege. Hence it was, that on the arrival of so many Jesuits in Bohemia, weeds were scattered in all places, and the good seed was stifled in its growth, because no Evangelical community dared to assemble in a church. For all this, the zeal for true religion was not extinguished among the Bohemians, but they devised new means for the procuring of the heavenly food. They assembled once or twice a year, in the greatest and most extensive forests, in various parts of the country.

“ How and whence they obtained an Evangelical minister, I know not. On such occasions they placed vigilant sentinels in different parts of the forest, and then praised God in security and cheerfulness. After the sermon, the preacher administered to them the holy sacrament, in a somewhat elevated spot, where the trunk of a tree had been prepared as a table. The pious will easily imagine how beautiful and lovely the praises of God resounded in these immense forests. The word of God was preached with peculiar zeal ; and I am lost in admiration when I consider how wonderfully God is at all times preserving his church. For though there have been from that time to the present,

* This shews that these people in the forests were inhabitants of towns. At that period these forests were many miles in extent.

so many executions, inquisitions, and reformations, they have still been unable wholly to suppress or eradicate the word of God from Bohemia. The people *still* contrive, by the above and similar means, to assemble for the purpose of praising God, and receiving the holy sacrament from his servants of the true Evangelical faith.

"About six years ago I entered a village near Michowitz, where I was acquainted with some good and pious men, whom in my childhood I had seen at the assemblies in the forests. I was now about to visit them, but on entering several dwellings, I found none but little children. In some houses, I met with a few older boys and girls, and when I asked them where their parents were, they replied : "In the field," "at the plough," "at the mansion," some said, "in the forest." Among others was a girl of about nine years old, who, on being closely asked about her parents, said, also, that they were in the forest. But on expressing my surprise at both parents being there, she replied, in her simplicity : "They receive there the white God." I asked her then, if she had ever been present on such an occasion, and she said, "yes, twice," and told me how delightfully the people sang, and how an old father taught them to continue with the true God. By such ways and means, does God preserve his little church, in many other places, (which I may not betray by naming) notwithstanding oppressions, persecutions, and banishments ; for the church still remains, and is not suppressed."

"The more," continues Holyk, "this little remnant is oppressed, and its enemies and adversities multiply, the more firmly is it established, and the

more does it increase in the knowledge and confession of divine truth. For it is the nature of the godly heart, to flourish in persecution, grow in carnage, advance in trials, rejoice in contempt, to be cheerful in tears, and to increase in troubles. It conquers when injured, understands when corrected, and maintains its ground when it is thought to be vanquished."

Sometimes the Protestants could celebrate their worship in the castles of those noblemen who were of the same religion. But as this was prohibited by the Emperor, it gave occasion to the persecution and punishment of the clergy for disobedience, and to accusations against them of instigating the people to resistance—which, according to the Popish view of the matter, they actually did, whenever they exhorted their hearers to evangelical stedfastness.

The question will, no doubt, present itself to every reader, whether the anti-reformers did not sometimes incur the danger of being overpowered, in thus dealing with a numerous people, and whether occasional revolts did not actually take place? We may refer for an answer to this question to what has been already stated on the subject in the course of this work; and also to Rucizka,* who states that, "In several parts of Bohemia the peasants made murderous insurrections, the authors of which were considered to be the Protestant clergy. Castles were destroyed, cloisters stormed, Jesuits murdered, until the superior military force of the Government at last succeeded in establishing a temporary peace." The greatest disturbances seem to have taken place

* In his Memoir, on the Jubilee of the Prague chapel, p. 31, 1841.

in 1627, in the district of Kaurzim. Of this district Pelzel reports: "Here arose a great insurrection,* which might have produced serious consequences, had it not been speedily suppressed. The peasants of that district, exasperated by religious restraint, and the expulsion of their preachers, assembled, several thousands in number, and invaded the town of Kaurzim, at a time when a fair was about to be held there. They immediately stormed and plundered the house of the Catholic priest; and the dwellings of the citizens shared the same fate; those who resisted, were murdered. They then marched into the district of Königingrätz, took possession of the castles, as was formerly done by the Taborites, and killed several noblemen with their whole families. At last some regular troops were sent against them from Prague, and they were dispersed. All those of them whom they could apprehend, were most severely punished, some were broken on the wheel, others were hanged or beheaded, most of them were deprived of their ears and noses, and several were branded on the forehead. And thus the people lost all desire for further insurrections."

From this we see, that the anti-reformers had their hardships, and were exposed to great danger, for in many places, the whole population was against them. They were, therefore, often obliged to fix their headquarters in the strongest citadels, as Krawarsky did at Bürglitz. This name reminds us also of the knight Rziczán, who after he had been deprived of his entire property, by the machinations of his enemies, raised the standard of revolt, and assembled a force of

* Their flag had this inscription: "As for soul and estate, so also for body and life. God grant us strength."

several thousand men. He designed to storm the fortress of Bürglitz. This is a very ancient castle, rebuilt in 1110, and is situated deep in the forest on the river Mies, celebrated for having been the place of confinement of men of high rank, and (since 1621) several noblemen of Bohemia, were now imprisoned in it. But Rziczan was repulsed with great loss, and his soldiers, the peasants, were dispersed. They apprehended, at the same time a revolt in Prague; all the weapons were, therefore, taken from the citizens, and the merchants were prohibited, under severe penalties, from selling gunpowder. But to appease the people in some degree, the Emperor suppressed the court of inquisition, which had been appointed, and thus, as it were, announced a general amnesty. We know that in Silesia also, the peasants and citizens resisted the anti-reformation, and forcibly endeavoured to hinder the seizure of the churches.

Almost contemporary with these events, were the sufferings of the Protestants in the Alps, and the reader will, no doubt, be interested by a sketch of the latter, taken from a speech of Comenius, who derived his information from living witnesses. "When the Albigenses and Waldenses were pronounced to be heretics, and were persecuted with fire and sword, they were forced to fly into the alpine mountains, and to fix their habitations in inaccessible places, where they remained during six centuries. Afterwards they put themselves under the protection of the Dukes of Savoy, and obtained, by degrees, several privileges, until 1620, when the young duke, Victor Amadeus, being urged to commence a persecution, deprived them of

several valleys, and sorely oppressed them.* He also sent some monks among them, who compelled them to attend mass, and tormented them in various other ways. They endured all with patience, hoping for the intercession of the neighbouring and remoter princes. But with all their humility and moderation, they obtained nothing. At length they were informed, in the name of the Duke, by Andreas Gastaldo, the commissioner of the inquisition, on the 25th of January, 1655, that they must all, young and old, change their religion within twenty days, or quit the country within three days after, under forfeiture of their lives. Their request for a delay, until they could send a petition to the Duke, was absolutely refused. Those, therefore, who were more wise or timid than the others, endeavoured to escape with their families, in the severest frost, and through the deepest snow, to hide themselves in the mountains, or caverns, and, if possible, by crossing the Alps, to proceed into France. Several hundred families thus left their native place, of whom the greater part perished by cold and hunger. The others, while supplicating for mercy, were visited by nine regiments of soldiers, who massacred every individual they could seize. It is true that the people had assembled in the narrow passes, where access could not be gained to them, but the commander of the troops, the Marquess Pianezza, promised them, upon oath, that he only wished to place three regiments with them for winter-quarters, and that, in the mean time, they might petition the Duke on the subject of their religion.

* They are even suffering now, (1845), by the laws of the Sardinian king, who is governed by the Popish priests.

The simple-hearted, unsuspecting people believed this story, and allowed the troops to ascend through the passes, of which they immediately took possession, and the rest of the army followed. The people then experienced those horrible cruelties, which, as says the historian, can neither be described by the pen, nor related with the tongue. For the soldiers stabbed, and cut down every one they found, and set fire to the churches. About 6000 people lost their lives on that single day. Those who could escape, took refuge on the high rocks, or in the caverns. But even here they were pursued on the following morning, while the air resounded with the cries and moanings of the dying. Here parents lost their children, husbands their wives; even infants were torn from the mothers' bosoms and murdered. Some, to escape from their barbarous enemies, threw themselves from the steep rocks; others perished in the snow, or were starved to death. Those who were overtaken, were bound, (the head between the legs) and then hurled from precipices. But the priests and monks, in the meantime, were busily employed in burning those churches and schools, which had not been wholly destroyed on the day before. In the village of Taillart, which stands on a high mountain, the enemies got about 150 women and children into their power, and after subjecting them to various abominations, they cut off all their heads. Two soldiers seized a child, each by a leg, and rent it in two, and then threw the pieces at each other's heads. Some they hanged by their legs, others they nailed to the trees with out-spread arms, and left them there to die. Having seized a man with his wife and ten children, they

first struck off the heads of the children, and played with them as at bowls, before the eyes of the parents, whom they afterwards beheaded. Even Simon Pierre, from Angrona, a man who was 100 years old, and his wife aged 95, found no mercy at their hands. Many they burned in their houses, driving stakes through the hearts of some, drawing out the entrails of others; from several they cut off the breasts and genitals; opened the stomachs of others, filled them with salt and gunpowder, and then threw them into the fire. It is even stated that they roasted and ate the hearts of some."

The writer of this report, says: "My eyes are overflowing with tears, and I can no further describe those inhuman cruelties." But he adds, "Some were taken alive, and led to the Marquess; among others, a peasant, who, on being asked whether he would rather go to mass, or to the gallows, made choice of the latter. Another, Paul Clemens, one of the church-elders, being on the ladder, ready to be hanged, the priest still urged him to recant, saying, that he had yet time to change his mind, but he replied: "Tell the executioner to do as he has been ordered;" then he turned himself to God, and prayed with a loud voice for the forgiveness of his murderers,—and thus ended his life.

In comparison with these, the Protestants of Bohemia, seem to have been treated with mildness. They had also numerous fellow sufferers in Silesia. In the already mentioned work of Ehrhard, we have many details of those times of terror, to which we afterwards allude. For the present, we shall only give a passage relative to the treatment of the common people. "The Governor of Oppersdorf,

proceeding with violence, expelled the Evangelical minister, and appointed a Catholic priest in his place. And because the peasants, who were poor and simple-minded people, could not be induced to embrace the Popish religion, they were placed in the stocks and prisons, where they suffered grievously by torture and hunger. They remained in prison for more than half a year, and some even forfeited their lives. But they continued steadfast to the end in their religion."

CHAPTER VIII.

BANISHMENTS FROM BOHEMIA—CONSEQUENCES OF THE ANTI-REFORMATION—THE EMIGRATIONS WHICH AFTERWARDS TOOK PLACE — RETURN OF THE CLERGYMEN WITH THE SAXON ARMY—AGAIN DRIVEN OUT BY WALLENSTEIN—INVASION OF THE SWEDES — RENEWED PERSECUTIONS.

HAVING described the proceedings in Bohemia, from the accession of Ferdinand II., we now come to the main point, namely banishment, expulsion, and emigration. Here we have two things to consider, the removal of the non-catholics from Bohemia, and their subsequent condition in exile. But the description of these two circumstances, will be divided and interrupted, because we shall have to speak of the short return after the victory of the Swedes, of the loss sustained by Bohemia through the great emigration, and of the lengthened struggle which had yet to be continued with Protestantism even after 1627.

The fixed resolution of the Emperor was, that all his subjects should be of one faith with himself; even as the king of France in 1685, would tolerate no other religion than his own. But as there were so many who refused to embrace Popery, there was of course no other means, (unless they should all be killed) than to banish them from the country. For the rulers saw, that by capital punishment the number of victims would be too large, and that executions would not only fail in producing the desired intimidation, but even serve as a recommendation to Protestantism, since the martyr's firm endurance of death, must tend to

persuade the spectators that Protestantism was of such a nature as to conquer all fear of death. Ferdinand was moreover professedly averse to cruelties, merely proposing instruction, and insisting on obedience. It is also known, that the urgent intercessions of the Saxon Elector, made a great impression upon him, though he considered any yielding to them as against his vows. The Bishop Caraffa of Vienna, confesses that the whole imperial court was in great commotion, as often as the Elector's complaints on the expulsion of the Protestants, were heard at Vienna; that the Emperor himself was frequently very thoughtful, and in great doubt, that he sometimes trembled from fear, and was almost inclined to revoke his edicts. But it was this very Caraffa, and the confessor Lamormain, that constantly urged the Emperor to keep his vows, and remain firm to his bigoted views of religion. They really considered banishment an act of mercy too indulgent to the non-catholics; craftily declaring, not that they *must* leave, but that they *might* do so, and adopting every means to prevent them.

The Jesuits looked upon it as an act of great indulgence. While the first wish of some was, to gain the Protestants to the Papal church, others desired the establishment of the inquisition with all its horrors, especially the burning of heretics. In comparison with that, banishment, as a permission, certainly was a benefit.* But the Protestants who

* Hence the expression, "*emigrationis privilegium*," to which the exiles added the word: "*miserabile*." In France it is a fact that the Huguenots were not permitted (in 1685) to leave the country. Whoever fled and was apprehended, was sent to the galleys. This was the lot of several respectable citizens of Rochelle, who were on their way to England. In Bohemia also, at a later period emigration was prohibited.

remained constant were obliged to emigrate, or as the expression was: "*to leave house and home, and seize the wandering-staff.*" This was not the object desired by their enemies, but rather a return to Romanism; as the latter was refused, they insisted on the former, however much they were startled at the multitude that desired to leave, and at the loss which this would occasion to Bohemia. The persecutors thought, that of the two evils they must submit to the least. The Protestants were strengthened by such passages as these: "Ye took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance." (Heb. x. 34.) "For what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" (Matth. xvi. 26.) The emigrations occurred chiefly between the years 1622 and 1652, consequently during the space of a whole generation; but they were continued, though in a less degree, beyond the seventeenth century.

We are told by Pelzel, that "after the court of Reformation had received full power, by all possible means, to convert the Protestants to the Catholic religion, and to clear the whole kingdom of the non-catholic sects, about 30,000 families left Bohemia, without reckoning their wives, children, and domestics; besides merchants, artizans, and tradesmen, as is testified by the then Chancellor of Bohemia, the well-known William Slawata. Among these were 185 families, of the nobility and gentry, each of which consisted of at least four, some of twelve, twenty, and even as many as fifty males.

Many determined people were soon resolved, and ready to leave; others wavered a long time, and

struggled with themselves and with their relatives. This hesitation was however very useful to Protestantism ; inasmuch as it so much the longer retained many champions in its behalf in Bohemia, during the indefatigable endeavours of the anti-reformers.

How great must have been the struggle, how hard to decide whether to remain or to leave ; how lasting the disquietude ! One of the clergymen alludes to this subject in the following language :—

“ Many friends, who were such by consanguinity, but who proved themselves enemies by their ungodly advice, preferring the treasures of this world to the heavenly riches, endeavoured to persuade the Protestants, who were ready to fly from the country, to deny the true faith, and adopt a false religion. ‘ Oh, do not abandon me, was their cry, do not think so little of your father-land, do not despise your inheritance, consider your excellent house, look at your fruitful fields, and remember your dear children ! Give up the thought of leaving the country ! In exile you have no resting-place, no help, no support, and no income. Stay at home, therefore, in your father-land, with your friends, and enjoy your property !’ Alas, numbers had to endure great sorrows and troubles ; though others arrived in safety at their places of refuge. But many, after ‘ seizing the wandering-staff,’ fell ill in consequence of night-travels and other hardships, and were in continual fear of being detained and questioned. For actual emigration, though commanded, was, properly speaking, not designed by the Government, but always much disliked, and beset with the greatest difficulties. Thus the exiles were in constant dread ; and their sorrows and trials

could only be counterbalanced by a certain inward satisfaction and consolation, which they derived from the exceeding great and precious promises of the word of God. These promises are also beautifully expressed in the Brethren's Hymn-Book, with the singing of which, it is well known, the poor exiles cheered their tedious pilgrimage, and raised their hearts above every danger that surrounded them."

The consequences which resulted to Bohemia from the severe punishments of 1621, from the expulsion of the Protestants, and from the new regulations, were far greater, and more melancholy than was expected. Ferdinand desired a restriction of rights, and a unity of confession; but Bohemia lost, thereby, much of her nationality, and has never since regained her former flourishing condition. These results ought to be clearly represented. But, that it may not be said, that a Protestant author thus speaks of the misfortunes of Bohemia, because she expelled the Protestants; we shall refrain from giving the opinions of Protestant writers, and only cite the words of Romanists on the subject. We commence by giving the opinions of the circumspect Pelzel. "History," he observes, "scarcely presents an instance, where a whole nation was so much changed and altered in the short space of fifteen years, as was that of Bohemia during the reign of Ferdinand II. In 1620 all the Bohemians were Protestants, a few of the nobility and the monks excepted; at the death of Ferdinand they were, externally at least, all Catholics. The states-general of Bohemia, up to the battle of the White-hill, exercised a power almost greater than that which is now possessed by

the houses of Parliament in England ; they framed laws, formed alliances with their neighbours, fixed rates, and taxes, raised men of merit to the rank of nobility, maintained their own troops, elected their kings, or were, at least, asked and solicited for their consent, whenever the father desired his son as his successor, as we have seen in the examples of Wladislaw, Ferdinand I., &c. The whole of these privileges were forced from them in this short space of time. Until this period the Bohemians came to the field as an independent and free nation, and frequently acquired great glory. Now they were mixed with other nations, and their name resounded no longer in the shock of battle. Hitherto the Bohemians, when joined, were bold, undaunted, ambitious, and enterprising ; but now they have lost all courage, national pride, and the spirit of enterprise. They fled like sheep before the Swedes, into the forests, or suffered themselves to be trodden under foot. Their bravery at that time was buried on the "White-hill." Individual Bohemians are still possessed of bravery, martial fire and ambition ; but, mixed with other nations, they resemble the waters of the Moldau when joined to those of the Elbe. Both together bear vessels, rise beyond the shores, flow to a great distance, inundate fields and pastures, and remove rocks and mountains ; but still it is always said, "The Elbe did this," and the Moldau is never thought of. The Bohemian language, which had been introduced into all the courts of justice, and which had also been the pride of the nobility, now became despised. The people of rank now spoke the German, and the citizens had also to learn it, because the monks preached in

it; and in towns the people began to be ashamed of their native tongue. It was only propagated by the peasant, and therefore was called the farmer's language."*

"As high as the Bohemians had risen in arts and sciences under the government of Maximilian and Rudolph, just so low they now sunk down. I know of no learned man in Bohemia (continues Pelzel) who distinguished himself after the expulsion of the Protestants. The Caroline University, in the hands of the Jesuits, became, as it were, abolished. By command of the Pope they stopped all further promotions; so that during the whole of this time no one could receive academical honours."

Some of the expelled clergy were extremely useful, scientific, and learned men. They could not be replaced by their successors, as we have already shewn. Pessina, in his work on Prague cathedral, also confesses, that nothing worse or more melancholy could have happened to Bohemia; for the country lost the former renown of her people, and also the last traces of her very ancient liberty, and both, indeed, as if by one stroke!

The country not only lost her enlightened nobility, not only the flower of her literary men, but like France (when the edict of Nantes was revoked

* Schaffarik, Jungmann, Hanka, and other brave men of modern times, endeavour to bring this language into vogue again. Ferdinand III. honoured, loved, and spoke the Bohemian tongue. Compare also Pelzel, 681, &c. (on the connection of languages of 1615,) and 837. Lately there was a festival in Bohemia, and on that occasion no one was allowed to speak any other than the Bohemian language.

in 1685), she also lost her most industrious inhabitants, such as cloth-weavers, (who brought their trade to a flourishing condition in Bernstadt and Zittau,) and linen-weavers, tin-workers, and blue-dye-manufacturers, by whom Saxony acquired a great gain. The number of the emigrated families is generally estimated at 36,000, of whom 185 were of the nobility. The loss of property was also very great in Bohemia; for in the first years of their expulsion the exiles were not prohibited from taking their possessions with them. The country retained, however, the confiscated estates of those punished in 1621. By this alone the exchequer gained forty-three millions of guilders, of which sum about 400,000 florins were given to the priests, the Jesuits, and monks. Many important deeds and documents were, moreover, destroyed at the time; for indignation and despair caused several persons to burn their letters of nobility, and their posterity are now living in Saxony as common citizens, as is the case with the house of Duba.

"A traveller," says Pelzel, "gives the following short but excellent description of the then condition of the kingdom:—'I could compare Bohemia with a hero, who, having conquered his enemies (the rebels), is yet exhausted and wearied from the wounds received in the battle, and who is awaiting the arrival of the Emperor, in order to recover and regain his strength.' By which he means, that the Emperor ought to fix his residence in Bohemia."

What a contrast was there between the years 1608 and 1708! How dark was it in Bohemia one hundred years after these unfortunate times! How flourishing might Bohemia have been, if her advances had

not thus been repressed after the year 1600! Her wounds have only become partially healed in the nineteenth century, and this benefit has been effected by less unwise rulers than those who governed prior to the time of Joseph II. Bohemia is now slowly recovering her learned and well-cultivated men, and commerce and agriculture are again lifting up their heads. But although so many societies for the promotion of arts and science have been formed by various patriots, we may not look forward to a much more flourishing state of things, while Austrian despotism, aided by Jesuitical intolerance, binds down the public mind in chains of bigotry and superstition.

The numerous emigrations of the Protestants, were certainly neither expected, nor relished by the Government; and when about half the citizens of Leitmeritz, being tormented by the soldiery, were preparing for emigration, the imperial judge and the monks endeavoured by all possible means, to entice them, even by letters, to remain. Many who had already left the place, were thus induced to return, and others continued. But before midsummer, the Archbishop of Prague came himself to Leitmeritz, and finding that affairs did not proceed according to his mind, he enstalled there a provost, who with some other reformers, were more severe. These treated the people who had returned home in such a manner, that they once more left the town and removed to Pirna, where more than five hundred of these exiles, both old and young, were assembled. But greater obstacles to emigration were now thrown in the way of the Evangelicals, by their opponents. It had been comparatively easy to leave the country, when the emigrants could take

their property with them; for at first the Emperor had allowed them to sell their estates. But these sales were after all of no avail; for a farm or a house was knocked down to the highest bidder, though the offer only amounted to a few dollars, and these were frequently retained by the authorities for the costs. Thus the poor were at last dismissed with scorn, and considered that they were very fortunate, when they found themselves beyond the borders of Bohemia. Neither did the Emperor's order to emigrate, at all agree with the wishes of the nobility, who were disinclined to lose so many vassals, and who, if they had dared, would gladly have retained them, exempting them from further persecution. Hence the frequent lawsuits of the Bohemian nobility, with foreign authorities, as was the case with the owners of Friedland, Reichenberg, and Grafenstein against the corporation of Zittau, and afterwards of the Moravian nobility against those who had received their former vassals in Herrnhut. Many people, when their design to go into a foreign land, was betrayed, notwithstanding that they had been commanded by the Emperor to leave their country, were yet overtaken and imprisoned at the instigation of the nobility, who were anxious to retain them, and at the instigation of the Jesuits, who wished to convert them.

Though love to their native country induced many to apostatize, the number of emigrants was constantly increasing. Many, in 1621, left in despair, under a dread of the severe punishments of Ferdinand, when the Jesuits and their dragoons tormented them beyond endurance, and they had already lost their property, and were by law deprived of all

means of a livelihood. Hence they had nothing to hope for in Bohemia, whereas abroad there was a prospect of subsistence, or at least of a friendly reception among those who had gone before them. But more generally emigration was not merely the consequence of despair and distress, of oppression or defiance, but really the result of their attachment to the evangelical faith, of their desire for a purer worship, of their abhorrence of hypocrisy, of their longing after those who had preceded them, of their anxiety for the spiritual welfare of their children, and of their confidence in God, who would bless their faithfulness also in a foreign land. "They sought," says an old author,* "a place where the doctrines of the gospel, and the scriptural use of the holy sacraments are purely, clearly, and distinctly taught and propagated; and they do not so much care for their personal and temporal interest, as for their spiritual and everlasting welfare."

We must not however forget, that the exiles did not believe that their banishment would last for ever. No, during many years they continued to flatter themselves with the hope of a change, and of the permission, and possibility, of returning to their beloved father-land; sometimes they expected much from the intercessions of the Saxon Elector, and at others that the Emperor's anger would abate, or that some political change should produce a different state of affairs. Some were even simple enough to think it possible that the Palatine Frederic would again ascend the throne. If, on the one hand, this hope should be considered as an alleviation of their troubles,

* Writings of the former burgomaster, Jacobitz of Friedland, who died as an exile, in 1624, at Radgendorf, near Zittau.

which it really must have been, it should on the other hand be remembered, that many were so situated as repeatedly to endure the miseries of exile, for persecution was extended to the very places whither they had fled. This was the case with those who had taken refuge in the Silesian territories. The exiled who had gone to Saxony, were the most happy, because the Protestant ruler there, considered it his duty to take them under his care; he was also able to protect the fugitives in Lusatia, for though an imperial province, it had become his by mortgage. They who had to endure the sorrows of exile several times, were mostly clergymen.

In these times of distress and danger, which, independently of religious affairs, were yet increased by the countless sufferings of the thirty years war, the military successes of the Protestant Princes occasioned a change of circumstances, which seemed to promise relief in Bohemia, especially at Prague, and revived the hopes of the Protestants. But the victories of the Saxons and Swedes were an advantage of very short duration.

The imperial army, commanded by Tilly, was defeated on the 16th of August, 1631, near Leipzig, and the troops of the Elector of Saxony, commanded by Arnheim, took possession of Auszig, Leitmeritz, Schlan, Melnik, and Tetschen, and marched against Prague. As the country people hid themselves from the Saxons; so did the arrival of the latter at Prague cause Archbishop Harrach, Count Michna, and Wallenstein duke of Friedland, with many of the nobility, to flee in great haste to Budweis, Linz, and Vienna. The citizens treated with Arnheim, through the Protestants in his army, Count Thurn and Wenzel

Raupowa ; and he promised to prevent all violence from being done to the churches, cloisters, priests, and monks. Many other towns, as Kuttenberg, Podjebrad, Kollin, Königingrätz, were also obliged to surrender, and the Elector of Saxony himself coming to Prague, took up his residence in the castle of Prince Lichtenstein. Numberless exiles now returned, and among them were sixty-six Lutheran clergymen. "Then," says Pelzel, "the Bohemian Protestants, who reappeared in crowds, rejoiced that their religion could once more be freely exercised in their native land."

We shall give a more detailed description in the words of such authors as witnessed this event, feeling convinced that such a procedure will be most agreeable to the judicious reader.

"While the Archbishop and others were thus successfully endeavouring to propagate and establish the Catholic religion, in all parts of the kingdom," says the Jesuit Pessina, "and when the non-catholic clergy had been banished from the whole kingdom, and their places were supplied with Catholic priests, and other pious men, chiefly fathers of the Society of Jesus, to whom Bohemia is greatly indebted, for their services in the reformation : alas, then the melancholy defeat intervened of the imperial army under Tilly, in the great battle of Leipzic. This at once destroyed the fruit of our former victories, and was the cause of the new misery, that disturbed the peace of the country and of religion, and plunged us into an abyss of trouble. For while all the towns of Germany, even those beyond the Rhine and the Danube, opened their gates to the king of Sweden, Arnheim had

been sent in advance, with the choice troops of the army, and he conquered, without difficulty, the whole northern part of Bohemia, and the borders of Misnia and Lusatia. The towns in the interior of Bohemia surrendered on the first summons; for they were either forsaken by their garrisons, or thought themselves unable to resist, since the imperial army had been dispersed, and could render them no assistance. Such terror and alarm had taken possession of all the inhabitants of the kingdom, that they not only fled with their families, from the villages and other small places, but were even trembling at Prague. A great part of the citizens, particularly the rich and the Italian merchants, fled from their approaching and rapacious enemies* to Budweis, Tabor, Iglau, or Vienna. It was a grievous and terrible sight for our clergy, to behold the town and the royal castle invaded by our foes; especially when, contrary to the terms of the capitulation, the Lutheran preachers violently entered the cathedral, and one of them mounting the pulpit, preached the doctrines of his own religion. But the priests, well knowing their duty towards God and the church, resisted as much as they could, and left nothing untried, to remove these ungodly invaders from the sacred place. By their perseverance they obtained from the Elector of Saxony, a command that the Lutherans should quit the temple, and that no one should venture to hinder or disturb the performance of divine worship, and what was little to be expected from a Lutheran Prince, the disobedient were threatened with severe

* The Swedes also took possession of various libraries, which they carried with them to their own country, where, in 1843, they were added to the royal library of Stockholm.

punishment. But in order at the same time to grant something to the clergy of his party, and not to force them entirely to evacuate the castle, he permitted them to hold Lutheran meetings in the royal collegiate chapel, which was within its walls. As every one who pleased, had permission to attend these assemblies, to hear the declaimers, and to take the sacrament according to their rites, in one word, that he might worship Luther ; there were numbers of people, and even not a few of the higher ranks, especially those who were but lukewarm Catholics, and old Hussites, with whom the use of the chalice had taken deep root, who came to these meetings, declaring themselves publicly as Lutherans, and thus they relapsed once more into heresy. This was a hard and bitter case for the priests living in the vicinity of the castle, who were obliged to let these things pass with impunity. They however abated not in their vigilance, and each did what he could, especially Andrew Kobr and Elias Kolbe, both distinguished preachers, the one in the German, and the other in the Bohemian language. Neither the magnitude of labour and danger, nor the presence of the enemy, could deter them from defending the truth of the Catholic religion, both publicly and privately, against the irrational and condemned opinions of their opponents. Several wavering Catholics, to whom they proved the unsoundness of the Lutheran doctrines, were thus preserved and confirmed in their faith, and in the purity of orthodoxy. When Prague was afterwards reconquered by Wallenstein, these brave priests were not only highly extolled by the Emperor, and the Cardinal (Harrach), but amongst other rewards bestowed

on them, they were raised to the dignity of noblemen."

A Protestant author, who looked at these events from a different point of view, has left us the following account:—

"When the affairs of the Protestants seemed to be most helpless, and the Princes of the realm had been subjected to obedience, and the most important towns capriciously tormented, and the objects of booty too swiftly distributed: behold, then, the aspect of the European world suddenly changed. From the northern horizon a cloud of hope appeared, and attracted as it were by the tears and groans of the longing people, it approached to give refreshment to the panting souls of Christendom. Germany having been delivered, the League dispersed, and Sweden victorious, the Elector of Saxony, penetrating into Bohemia through Lusatia, determined to follow up the advantage obtained by the victory of Leipzic, in order, according to the rights of war, to regain his previous loss.

"The Bohemian exiles at that time had frequent interviews with Count Thurn, the Swedish Lieut.-General, and Ambassador to the Elector of Saxony at Dresden, and they agreed to use so favourable an opportunity of joining the suite of the Elector, who was on the point of entering Bohemia. As they were equally anxious about their religion, they persuaded the dispersed Protestant clergy to return with them to their native country, who cheerfully consented, for religion and father-land were equally dear to them. On the 13th of November, the Elector moved forward with a considerable retinue from Dresden to Pirna, and then to Aussig, accompanied

by numerous exiles. They reached Leitmeritz on the 15th, and on the next day, being Sunday, divine service was celebrated, with solemn thanksgiving for their happy arrival.

“ The day following they entered the capital, already in possession of the Saxons, and the Elector made his public entrance on the 20th, amidst a large concourse of people. More than thirty Evangelical clergymen, who had returned from Lusatia to their native country, went in solemn procession to the Tein church, where they knelt down, and with prayers and hymns supplicated the mercy of the Lord. This week just terminated the ecclesiastical year, and the Protestants thought it appropriate to commence the new year with some solemnity. Having consulted on the necessary measures, and received the advice of the Evangelical clergy, they, notwithstanding the opposition of the Catholics, began to establish the Protestant canon-laws, and divine service was arranged to be performed first of all in the cathedral church, which had previously belonged to the Protestants, and from which the administrator Dicastus had been expelled ten years before, with the rest of the clergy. It was the first Sunday in Advent, and they desired to make this day memorable to posterity, by two extraordinary events. In the forenoon, seventy evangelical ministers, proceeded in pairs to the Tein-church, where, kneeling at the altar, they read the service. The people numerously and piously assembled from all parts, praising the Most High, for having thus graciously visited His afflicted people. The heads of those noblemen who had suffered on the scaffold ten years

before, and which had been fixed by the executioner to the top of the bridge-tower, in the old-town, as a terror to the conquered people, were the same afternoon taken down, and placed in a coffin covered with silk, and then conveyed to the above-named church, followed by a multitude of people, singing the sacred songs of Zion. All were forcibly reminded of the great mutability of earthly things.

“A beginning being thus made, the clergy concurred in the propriety of re-establishing a consistory, as soon as possible, for the easier and better administration of ecclesiastical affairs. The most influential men being again assembled, the following clergymen were with great solemnity and deliberation, elected to be officers of the consistory, namely Samuel Martini as administrator; and Adam Clemens, John Rosacius, Paul Cruppius, John Hertwicz and Stephen Olomuczansky, as assessors. These were the men to whom the consistory was entrusted, and they were also required to give their attention to the university and its professorships.

“About Christmas, the Jesuits were expelled from Prague, by the commander of the garrison. They received a safe-conduct and a guarantee for their property. The Administrator and Professors then solicited from the electoral Governor, as an especial privilege, that the university should not sustain damage from military violence. It was consequently carefully protected, and a course of the classes was announced in a public programme. For the maintenance of good order and the continuation of so propitious a commencement, the Administrator Martini was appointed to the office

of Governor of the great or Caroline College, and John Hippe, M. A., to that of Chancellor of the University, and Secretary to the Consistory.

“This happy arrangement produced many advantages. The Bohemians, refreshed with the joyful tidings of the Gospel, assembled in crowds, in order to partake of the heavenly blessing. They listened to the purely preached word of God, with extraordinary devotion. Those who had remained faithful to Evangelical truth, praised God for their delivery ; while those who had gone astray celebrated His infinite mercy in restoring them to the paths of righteousness.

“Among other events the following was most remarkable. Notwithstanding the persecution against the Protestants had raged for several years, and had been carried on with so much violence, that it was even considered a punishable crime to be called an Evangelical Christian, there were still found in the town and its vicinity, within the short space of a few weeks, two thousand who had remained faithful, besides five thousand, who, having forsaken their religion, now sincerely repented of their apostacy. So mightily did the powerful word of God work in the hearts of those who had been brought to reflection. The Lecture-rooms of the University were thrown open, and in a few days more than two hundred of the nobility, the citizens and other inhabitants, assembled in the Caroline-college, and solemnly engaged to observe the new regulations. From the daily increase of assembling believers, the churches of Prague seemed to be in a most flourishing condition. In the Tein-church the evangelical preaching was zealously carried on by the Adminis-

trator Martini, Matthias Krocinosky, late minister of Reichenau, and others. In the German churches, sermons were delivered by the field-preachers and their assistants; and Martin Storch remained uninterruptedly at the Salvator-church. God richly blessed the pious and indefatigable energies of the above-named divines; so that in Prague alone they regained twenty four Evangelical churches, that within the last ten years had gone over to Romanism. Upwards of fifteen thousand souls, who had been estranged from the Gospel by fearful and unheard-of cruelty, were brought in a very short period to a voluntary and cheerful return; and five clergymen, who, through a long and severe imprisonment, had been reduced by the Papists to despair and apostacy, now acknowledged and made a public confession and recantation of their guilt.

“ Whilst the Protestants were heartily desiring a treaty between the contending parties, and supplicating and advising for peace, alas! the thunder of cannon was again heard. On the 24th of May, 1632, the flag of Wallenstein was seen to approach. The victorious general sent in a trumpeter, and demanded the surrender of the town and castle; but Welsdorf, the Saxon Governor, returned a bold defiance. About two o'clock in the morning the bombarding of the town began from the White-hill, and during the whole of the following night, nothing was heard but the roaring of cannon, and the tumult of war. At last, when the Duke of Friedland had effected a breach in the fortress, near the Laurence-chapel, and had surrounded the ramparts on all sides with his troops,

the town was stormed from the Kleinseite, in a most furious manner, at about eight o'clock of the 25th of May. When the Saxons saw this, they demanded a truce, to which the Duke agreed, and they safely withdrew with their baggage.

"The Evangelical clergy were now in imminent peril, both on account of the hatred and menaces of the Papists, and on account of the soldiers. Considering it unjust to seek their own safety in this common danger, by a cowardly flight, they resolved to await with resignation, in the Salvator-church, whatever God might decree for them, whether it should be life or death. Hither, then, went first Martini, Hertwicz, and Storch, the others followed, and they were joined by several laymen; so that in a short time the number was not inconsiderable. In this communion they consoled one another, applied scriptural passages to practical life, conversed on the mutable destiny of the church, and prayed to God on their knees, fervently supplicating mercy for the Redeemer's sake, and for divine assistance in this emergency; and thus they regained some degree of strength. Several hours were passed in this manner, when suddenly a shout and a knocking at the gate were heard. The people from without threatened to force the doors, and with great tumult called upon the Administrator to surrender the keys of the principal church, and give an account with the rest of the clergy. The Administrator, with Hertwicz and others, then came out of the temple to the principal gate; but they had scarcely reached half the distance, when the doors were burst open both on the east and south sides. The excited Jesuit students then rushed in, armed with sabres, daggers, guns,

bludgeons, and other weapons. With these they made the attack, knocking down some of the clergy, and tearing the clothes from their backs. Among the first that entered was the priest, John Böhm, who seized the Administrator, and commanded him and the other ministers to return to the church, whence they were afterwards taken to the town-hall. The uproar was great; but the Protestants endeavoured to appease the excited multitude with conciliatory words, and cautioned them against violent deeds. Alas, what a change! Those who, but an hour ago, spoke of Christian liberty, were now led away captive! They crossed the market-place, escorted by armed men, the priest Böhm preceding them like a beadle.

“The opinions of the assembled crowds were extremely various. Some encouraged their ministers to stand firm, and make a public confession in the name of the Lord; to give their faithful testimony to the divine truth, and to confirm now by deed what they had hitherto preached in word. Others scornfully laughed at the trouble of these distressed men. When arrived at their place of destination, the ministers knelt down, repeating the Lord’s prayer, and then they sang a hymn. Scarcely was this done, when Jacob Jacobides of St. Martini, and Tobias Adalbert, M. A. of St. Clemens, were also brought to the prison. The former had been arrested in the medical college, whither he had gone on a visit half an hour previously, from the Salvator-church; and the latter was taken in the parsonage. In the mean time the priests, with whole troops of Jesuit students, were running about in the colleges, parsonages, and other houses, seizing and sealing

every thing that belonged to the Protestants. At the same time, John Hippe, M. A., chancellor of the university, and secretary of the consistory, with two other clergymen, were also arrested. As the windows of the prison in front of the market-place, were always crowded by people who wished once more to see the countenances of their pastors, or to hear their voice in prayer, the prisoners were removed to another part of the town-hall. Their wives and children were permitted to visit them, but not allowed to give them any writing materials. Of the hardships of such a lot, and the grievous condition of these pious men, every one will be able to judge who has the least idea of the inherent malignity, always subsisting in the minds of Papists towards Protestants, when they possess the uncontrolled power of exhibiting it. Many predicted to these unfortunate men, scourging, the stake, the sword, and the halter, while very few spoke consolingly either of safety, liberty, or life. There was not one monastic order in the whole town, which did not come to witness the scene, and pass judgment on the prisoners. Johann Hajek, who formerly belonged to the order of the 'brothers of charity,' but had become a Protestant and a minister, was, notwithstanding the intercession of the other clergy, thrown into the Bishop's prison.* On the 28th, Nicolas Dionysius, the conductor of the church music, who had voluntarily joined the ministers, was removed to the underground dungeons, but the others were adjudged to be the prisoners of the Emperor, and not of the Cardinal. On the

* Similar to the Lollard's tower in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth.

next day, an order arrived, that each prisoner should sign his name, and be prepared for a decision as soon as the church property should be restored. Towards the evening of the 30th, being the first day of Pentecost, instructions were given that the wives and children of the prisoners should appear in the town-hall; and on the following morning the Imperial Judge called the ministers before the Decemvirate, and addressing them in a friendly manner, related what the Duke of Friedland had determined respecting them; which was that they should leave Prague, with their families and all their property, on that same day, as soon as the cavalry, appointed for their safe conduct, should arrive. It behoved them, therefore, as soon as possible, to arrange the best means for their departure. If any of them could not at present take their property with them, they might entrust the same to some friend or relative, until they had a fitting opportunity to remove it. They expressed their thanks for this information, and the property of the Administrator, and the Secretary, being sealed up in the Caroline college, they went thither, removed the Jesuits' seal, and shewed what things in the library and printing-office belonged to them as private individuals.

“While the minds of the clergymen were thus in an unsettled, disturbed, and anxious state, a voice exclaimed: ‘The time for departure has arrived.’ The Imperial Judge then read off their names from a paper, and also those of their wives, children, and domestics, in the order wherein they were to depart. There was scarcely time allowed them to take their cloaks, for immediately, and in

the order in which their names were called, they had to descend from the town-hall, leaving, for the present, all their property, and to depart on foot, escorted by the cavalry across the bridge to the Kleinseite, and up the Hradschin. That day they walked to Welwarn, and the day after to Doxan, six miles from Prague, where the Saxon army lay. There they were joined by a detachment of the Electoral cavalry, who safely conducted them to Leitmeritz.

On occasion of this departure, General Gallas, field-marshal in the imperial army, gave a fine example of humanity. He saw from the palace this degrading treatment of the Protestant clergy, and surprised at the barbarity of the Prague authorities, sent his own carriage, drawn by six of the finest horses, after the wanderers, and thus eased the burden of their melancholy journey. Nor did his horsemen, who were sent as guards, fail to give the prisoners all possible marks of friendship. They rode slowly, and even lent them their horses.

Matthew Janda overtook his advanced colleagues at Welwarn. Rosacius, Algin, Rzimsky, and others, had previously gone with the electoral troops. From various towns and villages in the neighbourhood more than fifty clergymen, who had been dismissed or expelled from their parishes, also fled from the country in the desolation of war.

In the above-cited work of the contemporary and fellow-sufferer Jacobäi, he thus addresses the Protestant Princes, Gustavus Adolphus, John George, and others. "It is to you the Bohemians, that most unhappy people, are crying ; upon you, fellow-believers, they have, next to God, placed their hopes.

Once more do numerous banished clergymen, and god-fearing officials place themselves and their flocks before your throne. The many thousand souls that have lately been brought to a knowledge of divine truth, by means of the holy Gospel, are now wandering through forests and mountains, and in foreign parts, like so many scattered sheep; and several hundred emigrants, who returned to their native country under your protection, have been seized in the late combat at Prague, and are all in most imminent peril."

As the Protestants of Prague had, for a short time, enjoyed happiness and comfort, under protection of the arms of Protestant Princes, so it happened with those of other places. Even in 1633, at Leippa, where many Protestants were yet residing, they ventured to appoint Martin Felmer, who lived in exile at Zittau, as their minister. But he was tolerated only during the space of ten weeks. And when the Popish priests had departed in the time of war and pestilence, Friedland, in 1634, again had a Lutheran minister, whose successor was obliged to quit in the struggles of 1649. We will elucidate these circumstances by a few examples taken from Ehrhard's Silesian Presbyterology.

In the town of Glogau the Lieutenant-General Arnheim, who, in 1632, restored the Lutheran worship throughout the principality, put the Protestants once more in possession of the St. Nicolai parish church, and appointed Erasmus Willich as minister. Many who had fled to Poland in 1628, returned, and the citizens, hitherto considered Catholics, began again to sing Evangelical hymns in their churches. On the 19th of September, the

chaplain Strahl delivered an Evangelical sermon in the parish church of Glogau, and another minister celebrated the Lord's supper after the Protestant manner. The Saxons who had also conquered Sprottau, restored Evangelical worship to it; and in Grunberg, they recalled the banished preacher, John Nippe, from Saxony. But this did not last long, for in 1634, the commissioner, Count Oppersdorf, began again at Glogau to restrain the religious liberty enjoyed by the people, demanded the dismissal of their Evangelical ministers, and the restoration of the church to the Romanists.

When, in 1639, the Swedes returned from Pomerania to Silesia, under Torstensohn, some country towns of Glogau, again obtained their religious freedom. The Catholics of Grünberg gave up the parish church, from fear of this hero, and under Swedish protection, the Lutherans obtained three Protestant ministers. At this time there were in Bohemia 40,000 Swedes under Banner. Balbin states, that the common people of the Evangelical party imagined this war to have been carried on for them, and for the recall of the emigrated heretics; and Pelzel declares, that the Field-marshal himself caused the people of the whole country to be informed, that he had come to protect the Protestant Bohemians against the Romanists. He also prohibited his troops, under pain of death, from injuring the former in the slightest degree. The Swedes, at that time, laid waste the whole kingdom without restraint, and treated the Popish clergy little better, 'perhaps,' than the Catholic soldiers had used the Protestant ministers in 1621. "Perhaps," Pelzel adds, "this and other cruelties against the clergy

may have been perpetrated by the banished Bohemians, several thousands of whom were serving in the Swedish army. In 1644, when Torstensohn, and afterwards Wrangel, were stationed in Bohemia, the military chaplains celebrated the communion '*sub utraque*,' so that the Bohemians could also partake thereof."

"They first acknowledged their sins, to these clergymen," says Holyk, "bewailing their misery and apostacy with great anguish of mind. Then they devoutly took the holy sacrament in both forms, and even the Swedish soldiers were surprised at the large number of Lutherans yet in Bohemia, and at the great zeal displayed by them. I have been informed of this lately by some Swedes. On one occasion fifteen evangelical ministers were engaged for three days and nights in absolving the penitent Bohemians, and in distributing the Lord's supper under both forms.

"But this liberty did not continue very long; the Bohemians have always been unhappy in that respect. For when the Swedes were gone, the anti-reformation was carried on with greater severity than ever by the Jesuits, who upon recommencing their office, caused great numbers of the people to assemble, and asked them whether they were Roman Catholics? They did not however believe the people, although they answered in the affirmative; but the oldest of them had to approach the Jesuit, who then required him to repeat the Lord's prayer. If in doing so, they from habit, repeated the last words: "for thine is the kingdom," &c., the Jesuit would exclaim, "You rogue, you heretic! what have you to do with 'the kingdom;' we know

very well that it belongs to him alone. Now, we can see, that you have again been with the heretics ; from them you have learned the heretical Lord's prayer. We do not say the words : ' for thine is the kingdom,' because they are not in our Bible, which is however correct and not false. But yours is a corrupt Bible, wherein the words are thus printed." Those who would not acknowledge themselves Romanists, nor promise to confess their sins, privately, to the Jesuits, were taken before the Governor, who had them shackled, and then dragged to prison. Some they led about, as a show, from house to house, while the children (by an arrangement of the Inquisitor) followed them with great noise and tumult. When at length they were compelled to make a confession in the prison, the Jesuits immediately placed a wafer, previously consecrated, in the prisoner's mouth, and repeated certain Latin words, which the simple people could not understand. After the Latin blessing, they would say to the people, " Now you will go to the devil, if you do not adhere to the confession just made, and on which you have received this wafer."

" In this manner they treated young and old, both in towns and villages, who were forced to submit to their reformation. Such experience was made by myself, when scarcely eleven years old, with upwards of one hundred other boys. I was obliged to go to Prague with the Jesuits, who placed me in the seminary, as they call it, where I remained upwards of six years, and learned their religion. During my stay there, I was also obliged, at least twice in each month, to make a confession, and take the holy sacrament according to the Roman Church. At

last I renounced the study of rhetoric, and would no longer remain with them, but joined the order of the Dominicans, until I left them altogether.”*

“ But there were many old people both of high and low condition, who resisted them, and would not be forced to renounce their religion, either by tyranny, fines, or imprisonment. Some of these emigrated ; but others, though detained in custody, neither transgressed the commandments of God, nor spake against his holy word.”

Having thus noticed the changes in Bohemia occasioned by the invasions of the Saxons and the Swedes, we return to the year 1631, for the purpose of describing further steps of the Romanists towards the yet incomplete suppression of Protestantism ; and the continued emigration of the people to escape from the power of their oppressors.

* At a later period Holyk lived in Zittau, Wittemberg, and even in Sweden, where he wrote an account of the events of his time.

CHAPTER IX.

ACCESSION OF FERDINAND III.—CONTINUED PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS—SUFFERINGS OF FATHER AMBROSIUS—OF FATHER DIETEL—OF THE HISTORIAN HOLYK—DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF BOHEMIA—RENEWED EMIGRATIONS—TREATMENT OF THE PROTESTANTS OF SALZBURG—PROCEEDINGS IN KONIGINGRATZ.

OUR information regarding the events which took place after 1631, is exceedingly scanty; the same complaint is made by Elsner, who, in his preface to the German edition of the "Book of Persecutions," says :—"Bohemia, after 1632, probably enjoyed some peace and rest, because her enemies fancied the gospel to have been extirpated, and that she had become entirely Catholic. For the secret Protestants kept themselves so concealed, that they could scarcely be known; and as they complied with outward ceremonies, in order to remain undiscovered and uninjured, and ceased to emigrate, they became less and less suspected."

One of the more remarkable years of that period is 1634, when, on the 1st of August, the Prague Convention was concluded, according to which the Restitution-Edict of 1629 became so far restricted, that the Protestants were allowed to retain possession of those ecclesiastical estates, which they had held previously to the year 1627, and to have the free exercise of their religion in the German realm. But, alas! this did not include the hereditary states of the Emperor, and consequently was not applicable to Bohemia. The affairs of the Protestants

throughout continued to wear the same unfavourable aspect, until the 15th of February, 1637, when Ferdinand II. died. The question then arose, whether his son, Ferdinand III., would be as full of hatred and intolerance against every thing non-catholic, and suffer himself to be similarly governed by the clergy? "He certainly continued," says a modern writer on Bohemian affairs, "to proceed against the Protestants in the spirit of his paternal predecessor; but he was not equally uniform respecting those existing laws of the country, which excluded non-catholics from every benefit of legislation. At least Ferdinand thought it in some degree advisable to favour the affluent nobility because he wished to prevent further emigrations. Thus, in 1643, he permitted the Lutheran Countess Burian Ladislav of Waldstein, to appear at the royal table, without demanding a change of religion." But the following example from the first year's reign of Ferdinand III., is of a different character. In the province of Glogau the newly elected administrator was a certain Poppschitz, a Lutheran; whereas several mandates of Ferdinand, copied by Ehrhard, shew that Protestant noblemen were no longer entitled to hold appointments under government; and accordingly the Emperor announces his displeasure, that this administratorship should have been given to a non-catholic. He further says, that it was of great importance to him, that such an office should be held by a Catholic subject, who, as he expresses himself, should be attached to "our religion." And no doubt this applied to all Bohemia.

In 1645 the Papal missionaries redoubled their activity, for which the predilection towards Utra-

quism evinced during the presence of the Swedes, gave abundant cause.

About the close of the year 1650, a law concerning religion was published in Reichenberg, and other places, that "no one shall be tolerated in the kingdom of Bohemia who is not a Catholic." Rohn, in his chronicles, observes, that the Romanists formed a very small minority of the population : "the rest of the citizens and vassals, with their families and domestics are indeed all Lutherans ; still there is hope, that after receiving instruction, the majority of them will accommodate themselves, without any particular compulsion. But it will require time, on account of their number, and the too close neighbourhood of the Lusatian country."

This explains why, in 1651, so many people fled from Bohemia into the neighbouring territories, as is recorded in the chronicles of the adjacent Zittau, which state, that "in this year, about Whitsuntide and afterwards, a great reformation was once more undertaken, and the Jesuits made sad havoc in several places. This caused the people who lived in the neighbourhood, to escape during the night ; several of them entering the town while others went to the villages ; for the roads were guarded by soldiers in order to prevent such emigrations. Whoever was caught, was led home bound by the soldiers and thrown into prison."

The people were "not to be tolerated," and at the same time they were prevented from leaving the country ! The Saxon electoral permissions to receive Bohemian Protestants, were probably occasioned by new Bohemian severities of that year. It was about 1652, that 3180 individuals emigrated from the domain of Friedland ; for in

1651, the Emperor peremptorily announced to the states-general, that all Lutheran officers, without distinction, should be dismissed, and that the Lutherans should neither be permitted to act as sponsors, nor to have their children baptized.

The new and severe edicts for the expulsion of the Protestants from Upper Austria and Bohemia, are dated January 4, and March 7, 1651. In other parts, not bordering on Protestant countries, every thing succeeded according to the wishes of the Jesuits. This Balbinus found to be the case in the district of Kunwald, which was the sphere of labour of the celebrated anti-reformer, Father Adam Krawarsky.

Other edicts were also issued, wherein it is particularly commanded, that a day should be fixed for the departure of the Protestant preachers; and all remonstrance was in vain.

Various persecutions of the Evangelicals occurred at different places during succeeding years, from 1652 to 1669. The Jesuits earnestly endeavouring, in that period, to re-establish the Popish ceremonies of the middle age. For, in order to uphold their influence with the people, they thought that they could not be too far removed from all resemblance to the Protestants; that their being wrong in every instance could never be sufficiently demonstrated, and that they could not, even if they wished it, succeed in making the infallible church ashamed of her old abominations; indeed, the very maintaining and carrying to excess of every thing rejected by the Protestants, were considered to be the best means of preserving the pretended apostolic-succession church from the pestilence of heresy: and thus, in their zeal to preserve the rotten worn-

out casket of the church, the Roman hierarchy, which had cast forth the jewel of Christianity, and adopted the most abhorrent principles and practices of paganism, professing themselves wise became fools.

The crafty insinuations of the Jesuits, that the spirit of innovation had occasioned so much mischief, brought some even well-informed people to the erroneous notion, that though there was much that might be improved, the present age was not prepared for it; that every change was premature; and that it was safest, to leave things as they were, and as much as possible to re-establish the ancient ceremonies.

There was no want of intercessions; the Swedish Government, in particular, appealed most urgently to the court of Vienna: but there the Archbishop constantly spoke against toleration.

In no place were those who shewed an inclination to Protestantism, whether by word, or by a journey into a Lutheran country, more severely treated, than in the cloisters. For even there, some thinking men were occasionally found, who perceived the errors of the Popish doctrines. Many were silent, and gave no utterance to their thoughts. But all did not possess that gift; and others, by openly broaching their views, soon incurred severe chastisements. If not brought to the stake or some other painful death of the inquisition, they were cast into the cloister-dungeons, where they could no longer behold the light of the sun. They suffered, what Luther would certainly have had to endure from the Pope, if he had fallen into his hands. That the treatment of the more liberal-minded monks, was sometimes carried to a terrific extent of cruelty,

we may learn from the following characteristic statements of the contemporary, George Holyk.

“There was a priest,” says he, “among the order of preachers (Dominicans,) named Father Ambrosius, who was a lecturer on theology, and besides a pious and learned man. As soon as he had come to a knowledge of the truth, by a diligent study of the holy scriptures, he inwardly determined, no longer to remain in this darkness or to walk in the errors of popish doctrine. On one occasion, when dictating a lesson to his hearers and pupils, he suddenly stopped, confessed his past errors, and thus addressed them. ‘Beloved brethren and students, what I have hitherto delivered and taught, is all false and without foundation. Yea, much thereof must tend to the condemnation of our souls. Wherefore I regret, and recall all such words as I have hitherto spoken; I will diligently guard against the like evil for the future, and only teach you saving doctrine and pure truth, in accordance with the word of God.’ And immediately he began to refute the articles of Thomas Aquinas, especially that which treats on the invocation of the saints; which article is affirmed and defended in manifold ways by the Catholics.

“After school-hours, the pupils reported the whole occurrence in the greater convents, and particularly to the supreme governors, who immediately convened a meeting of the chapter, and summoning father Ambrosius before them, they first addressed him in a friendly manner, saying, ‘Some of our clerical brethren have accused you of having read and dictated to them, words that are in opposition to the holy Roman Church, and contrary to our doc-

trine. We will not believe that your reverence ever seriously intended to teach such things to your pupils, but rather that it was done with a view to prove them, or to engage them in argument on the subject !' But when they proceeded to read the words which had been written down at his dictation, and asked him, if he acknowledged having taught and delivered the same to his hearers ; the conscientious and undaunted servant of God, candidly answered (as they who were present told me) without evasion or fear : ' Yes, I willingly confess myself to have taught all this, and to have ordered the same to be written down. I shall cause yet more to be written down, against such doctrines as are in opposition to the word of God, and I am ready to defend my tenets before teachers, doctors, and those assembled here, or those who may yet come hither.' At the same time he told them, that he was ready to live and die by what he had advanced ; ' for,' continued he, ' I am convinced that the word of God cannot deceive or mislead me, or any other believing man.' It were to be wished that pious Christians could have seen, with what a rage these fathers fell upon the poor man, as soon as he had uttered these words. They entertained the same feeling against Ambrosius, as the Jews of old did against Christ, and they also would undoubtedly have killed him at once, if they had dared to do so. But as they have a law, which forbids ' the killing of any one,' the poor man escaped, though with difficulty, from being torn to pieces. They did not, however, allow him to go without a large share of their cruel and inhuman punishments. For he was immediately half undressed, as being an obstinate, stiff-necked blasphemer, and with rods, which had little

iron stars at the end, he was scourged until the blood ran down abundantly. This is the general punishment for those who are inclined to depart from their doctrine. After such a flogging, they gave him, as a hope of mercy, a few months respite, condemning him, however, to the dungeon, where he was not permitted to have any books, except perhaps, as a great favour, *Opus* or *Summam Thomæ Aquinatis*. But Ambrosius, since he was not allowed to have the Bible, refused to read this work.

“ After the lapse of some time, he was again called before the chapter, and having first been foully abused, was asked by the superior if he still persisted in his perverse and accursed doctrine? He replied, ‘ I have already told you, that I will rather die, than forsake, or speak aught against the word of God.’ He also spoke much more in defence of the true doctrine. This greatly exasperated them, and they said that Father Ambrosius was mad; yet for all that they had him severely scourged, as on a former occasion, and he was besides thrown into a more horrible dungeon. From this prison he was drawn up* twice a week, at meal-time, when he was obliged to lie down at full length, before the door of the refectory, so that all who came in trod upon him; the last brother that entered, giving him a severe kick with his foot, and ordering him to remain on his knees in the middle of the room, until after dinner. Here poor Ambrosius had to appease his hunger with a small piece of black bread, (such as is generally baked for dogs) and a little

* To save the expense of fuel, the prisons were constructed deep under ground, and the prisoners were let down or drawn up by means of ropes. Such prisons are yet to be seen in the old castles, as at Bürglitz, in the district of Rakonitz, in Bohemia.

salt, while he witnessed his fellow-brothers regaling themselves with the choicest viands, and the costliest dainties. After dinner he was again led to the chapter-house, where he had to listen to a blasphemous sermon, in which he was attacked with the most abusive language, and sent several thousand times to hell and the devil. The sermon being ended he had to kneel down half naked, and kiss first the feet of the Prior, and then those of all who were present ; on which occasions he received many a kick in the face, and other marks of derision, all which he was obliged patiently to endure. When this farce was over, he was again led to the Prior, and in a naked condition most cruelly beaten with rods, soaked in hot water, first by the Prior, and then by all the " patribus" and " fratribus" in turn, until the blood flowed copiously down his back. This treatment he endured twice a week.

" At the termination of the year, an election of a new Provincial took place, and the door of grace was not yet closed against him, if he would but retract his words. When all the Priors were assembled in chapter, after the election, they sent for Father Ambrosius, who stood before them trembling like a criminal, or rather like Christ before his murderers. The Father Provincial then interrogated him, on the same subjects in which he had been examined a year before ; holding out the promise of a pardon from the Pope, and informing him that he, the Provincial, had power to mitigate, or even wholly to remit, the punishment awarded to heretics. But neither these flattering words, nor the impending torments, could dissuade Father Ambrosius from his godly purpose. He replied, as on a former occasion, that he could not alter his opinion, without

great injury to his soul. Upon making this reply he was delivered into the hands of the tormentors, by whom he was most cruelly tortured, being beaten and scourged by every one present in the chapter; and, though he did not expire under their hands, he was taken up half dead, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Some said that he was mad, and ought therefore, to be properly and strictly guarded; he was consequently thrown into a horrible and filthy prison, where he had to continue for the remainder of his life, no one being allowed to see him. The final sentence passed on him was, that when dead, his body should be put in a sack, and thrown into a cess-pool, or, as a favour, that it might be buried in a dung-hill.

“ And thus poor Ambrosius, a true martyr and follower of Christ, remained condemned, and was kept in the same prison, though scarcely alive, when I entered the convent about eighteen years afterwards! If he be still living, he must have endured this filth and misery, hunger and thirst, for about twenty-five years. Two days frequently passed without any food being given him, either from forgetfulness or diabolical malice; and when he did receive any thing, it was much worse than what is given to the scullions of the cloister. Even in the severest winter, he had neither fire nor bed, nothing but the straw he received at first, which was soon reduced to a mass of filth. No one attended to his clothes, and it is next to miraculous, that the poor man should be able to endure hunger, thirst and filth, the frost of winter, and the heat of summer, during so many years. He might have been released from such misery and torture; but being unwilling to depart from his godliness and to renounce his constancy in Christ, and his

true doctrine, he was condemned to remain in his present condition. I was nearly half a year in this cloister, before I knew of any one being confined in its prison; and I learned it at last from one of the scullions, who had to carry food to the prisoner. In order to speak with father Ambrosius, I sought an opportunity of approaching the aperture, through which his food was let down to him. On my calling him, he came forward, but I could not distinguish whether he had any clothing. His face was covered with hair, and his eyes were dark. I was much surprised and startled at his wretched appearance, and asked him the cause of his imprisonment. To which he answered very sorrowfully; 'I have forgotten my Latin, and am much weakened in my understanding.' I could say no more to him; for hearing one of the fathers come down the stair-case, I was obliged to hurry away. Had I been found near the aperture, conversing with a heretic, it would certainly have fared ill with me. For I should have been expelled until I had done penance, by submitting to such punishment as the prior would have awarded me."

Another account, taken from the same author, is equally important for the elucidation of the spirit of monachism. It shews the manner in which they proceeded with those of their own fraternity, who were suspected of entertaining Evangelical sentiments. They did not burn or otherwise kill them, but craftily confined them in prison, some indeed for life, but others only until they should be once more beguiled by smooth and flattering words. This was done that their 'order' might not be

despised and ridiculed by others, which would have been the case had they inflicted capital punishments.

“ When I had entered into the order of the Dominicans, in the old town of Prague,” says Holyk, “ and studied divinity in the convent of St. Giles, a learned priest of this order, named Father Dietel, who had already been elected Prior of the convent of Budweis, suddenly left the place. He travelled towards Saxony, and had reached the town of Biela, two miles from Leitmeritz. Here he rested a little, but being betrayed to the scouts sent after him, he was recognized, arrested, and taken prisoner to the latter town. From thence he was led to Prague, and thrown into the prison of the cloister of St. Giles’, as a runaway from the Roman Catholic church, and from his monastic order. The first could easily be proved, by his having travelled to a Protestant country. This man had to endure a most terrible penance; for every Wednesday and Friday he was brought from the prison to the refectory, where he had to lie, half undressed, in the door-way, so that we had all to tread on him as we entered.* Then he had to come in and stretch himself on the floor, in which posture he was obliged to continue until he had received a signal from the prior. After this he had to kneel down, while the rest were at their meals, and hold a piece of coarse black bread,

* This punishment was practised even in the year 1800 by the Pseudo-Trappists of Diiren near Paderborn, and perhaps in all the cloisters. Such a punishment had several degrees: 1. Degradation at table; 2. Sitting on the ground; 3. Lying on the ground near the door in the shape of a cross, to be stepped over by the others. See a document of Bishop Meissen, dated Stolpen, 1509, in the Lusatian Magazine, 1826, p. 350.

and a little basin of water in his hands. Dinner being ended he was led by the fathers into the chapter-house, where the prior, Seraphinus Caparro, an Italian, addressed him in a furious oration, telling him that he had vexed the angels in heaven, and that devils were now standing at his side ready to take him. 'Just see,' said he, 'how the devils are rejoicing, and eager to seize your soul;' besides many other horrid expressions, that greatly terrified all present. This done, the prior sent for three large whips, and having used them upon the poor priest several times himself, he gave them to another, and he to a third, until they had all whipped him, and his body was wholly covered with blood. Then he had to crawl on the ground, and kiss the feet of every individual; and lastly, he had once more to lie down before the door, in order that those who went out of the room might again tread upon him. Such dreadful punishment the poor man had to endure every Wednesday and Friday during the space of a whole year. But at last, (having again acknowledged the Roman Catholic faith, confessed his late fall, and promised never again to harbour similar thoughts,) he was released, and for some time appointed bell-ringer to the cloister of St. Margaret at Pilsen; ultimately he was absolved from excommunication by leave of the Pope, and sent to Olmütz as matin preacher to the cloister of St. Michael, which belonged to the Dominicans."

Holyk, moreover, gives a statement of his own persecution in the year 1665. He was the child of Lutheran parents, but during the anti-reformation received a forced education from the Jesuits, among

whom he lived several years. He was afterwards placed among the Dominicans, with whom he laboured for a long period, according to the rules of that order. At last he left them, returned to the faith of his ancestors, and lived in Zittau, Wittemberg, Sweden, &c.

“When,” says Holyk, “I was a preacher of the Dominican order, and also inquisitor and searcher of Lutheran books, I recollected that an old minister in Bohemia frequently exhorted his hearers, when preaching to them in the depths of the forest, that they should remain constant in their belief, pray without intermission that they might not fall into temptation, and diligently study the holy scriptures, that their faith might be strengthened thereby. I, moreover, thought of my mother’s last request; for when she was at the point of death, she said to my father: ‘One thing I must request of you, my dear husband, before I go to my heavenly rest, which is, that you never leave our youngest son (pointing to me), but watch over him, that he may not be led astray;’ and having thus spoken, she departed in the Lord. I often recalled to mind these words, and diligently read the Scriptures, as well as some Lutheran books, which now and then came into my possession. Upon reflection I requested leave to go to Leitmeritz, where I had previously been four years precentor of the choir, and my request was granted. I was also appointed preacher there, and invested with other offices pertaining to the order. I then frequently sought an opportunity to escape, but without success. For one night, when I was about making my escape through a breach in the town wall, which I had previously discovered, I found that

two friars, the cook and the gardener, were stationed there as guards. They demanded of me the nature of my business in that place ; but I was so terrified, that I could not utter a word, and therefore returned to my cell. This occurrence was immediately reported to the prior, who placed some brothers before my cell to watch me. Being in great fear, I locked my door inside, and did not venture out a second time that night. My state of mind will easily be imagined, when I say, that during the whole night I could not close my eyes. Doubtless, thought I, they will summon me before the chapter, and examine me on my motive for going at night to the town wall, which was close to the cloister. At last the morning dawned, the clock struck six, and the bells were tolled for the first mass, to celebrate which I was called by the sacristan. I told him that I would soon be in the vestry, and prepare myself for my office. Having left my cell, and arrived at the door through which we had to pass in order to get into the church or the vestry, I found the oldest fathers assembled there, one of whom shook hands with me, and wished me a good morning. But on returning his salutation, he, who had always been my friend, told me that they were much concerned for me. When I asked for the cause of this concern, he replied, that they had received orders from the prior to imprison me. He had scarcely uttered the words, when I was surrounded and attacked like a murderer, by several of the friars. I asked, ' Why am I thus attacked ? If I wish to obey the orders received, why imprison me ? will not that suffice ? ' The prior hearing that I was arrested, and also the words, ' will not that

suffice ?' fancied that I had struck one of them ; for he knew that I generally carried some weapon about my person. He therefore hastened down the stairs, shouting, ' Kill the rogue, the heretic—kill the Lutheran rogue !' This greatly terrified me, and I thought death was certain. I therefore prepared myself to receive the sentence, and inwardly commended my soul to the Lord. But they immediately led me into a deep cavity within a side wall, which was built purposely for a secure prison ; then they stripped me of all clothing except the shirt, and with nothing but this slight covering I was left the whole day and the following night in that miserable hole. There was not even straw to lie upon, and I not only felt excessively cold, but extremely hungry, and was, moreover, in suspense as to my future destiny. The next day, however, when they had examined my cell, my clothes and every thing belonging to me, without finding any Lutheran books (for I had previously torn or burned them), nor any letters from Lutheran places, nor indeed anything that could clearly prove my intention to become a Lutheran, (which I had boldly denied, and I trust the Lord will graciously pardon me this falsehood) ; they then sent me by one of the friars some clothes, a little straw, a piece of bread and salt, and a cup of water. The bearer of these did not however speak to me, nor answer my questions, but having given me all the things through the hole in the inner door, he closed it, locked the outer iron door, and went away.

" He returned next morning with a little soup, some bread, some vegetables, and a good draught of water, and told me, that it would soon fare

better with me. The day following my food was somewhat improved. But still I had to remain twenty-four days and nights, in this dark hole. During which confinement, I frequently fell into such despair, that I even begun to doubt whether I did right in forsaking my faith. Sometimes I invoked many thousand saints to my aid, and repeated the "rosarium Mariæ," perhaps one hundred times in a day, sometimes I called upon the 11,000 virgins with St. Ursula, and at others I called upon none, for I received no help from any. In one word I knew not what to do, and grieved at my being degraded, confined, and subjected to misery. Formerly I associated with men of rank, was highly esteemed by all, and now the least of the fraternity, the lowest of the menials thought it beneath him to speak to me, which I took much to heart. When, after twenty-four days, the provincial of Prague came to Leitmeritz, and released me from prison, I was almost blind and benumbed; for upon my coming again to daylight, I had not strength enough even to stand upon my feet. But at present the remembrance thereof forms my greatest joy; I am thankful to have been subjected to such degradation, and could even wish that I had endured still more, for in that case I should now have the greater reason to rejoice. When freed from prison, which took place after a second examination of all my things, by the provincial and the fathers, without finding any proof of my having embraced, or intended to embrace the Lutheran religion, I was removed to Prague, and thence to Iglau in Moravia, where I had to superintend the estates belonging to this convent. I was afterwards en-

trusted with a small community in the country, by a certain baron of Leskowitz. But steady to my purpose, I looked at all times for an opportunity of escaping. At last God inspiring me with the idea of asking leave to make a journey to my father, who lived twelve miles from my present dwelling-place, I did so, and requested my prior to give me sufficient time for the purpose: as I promised to collect alms, I obtained the desired license."

After visiting his father and stepmother, Holyk travelled to Zittau, which, by avoiding the high roads, he reached on the fourth day, but he was received with some distrust; and his Bohemian language could not well further his interest with the literati there. He then went, as has already been observed, to Wittemberg, and afterwards to Sweden.

Thus we have seen by the examples of Ambrosius, Dietel, and Holyk, how severely those who were suspected of Protestantism were punished at that time. Ambrosius was, without doubt, the most worthy, and the most deserving of pity; but in Holyk's case it is very remarkable that, by reading the very Lutheran books, which he himself had ordered to be confiscated, his mind was enlightened, and led to adopt the Evangelical doctrines.

After these individual examples, we return to the condition of Bohemia during the period from 1625 to 1650.

The long war which raged contemporaneously with religious persecution, destroyed the whole external prosperity of the country. Her people fell by the sword of the enemy, her villages were destroyed by fire, her fields were trodden under foot; there was no safeguard for property, nor any

protection against personal ill-treatment ; agriculture was wholly neglected, and the labourers were without resource from want of employment, and the general scarcity of money.

To all which must be added those mental anxieties, arising from discord between neighbours and families, yea, even between differently minded husbands and wives, parents and children. Persecution and expulsion were, indeed, expected by the resolute Protestants. But the anti-reformers caused them many heavy trials, independently of sufferings from corporal abuse, imprisonment, chastisement, and starvation. And even if the utraquists and Protestants yielded submission to the Papal worship and ceremonies, there still rankled in their minds an oppressive discord between their thoughts and actions. The newly appointed Popish clergy also found their tasks to be extremely burdensome, in those unhappy days ; nor must it be imagined that peace was altogether restored in the year 1650.

That the so-called "extirpation of heresy" was not completed even in the middle of the 17th century, is evident from an old pamphlet, called, "Short description of resolutions formed during the diet held in the town of Brünn, from the 2nd to the 23rd of December, 1652." After treating on secular affairs, the writer thus continues : "His Imperial Majesty (Ferdinand III.), and his faithful states-general, have learned, with indignation and sorrow, that in different parts of the country there are still various non-catholics, both persons of rank and others, who neither acknowledge the Roman Catholic and only saving church, nor conform to the resolutions passed by the states-general, and

approved by his Imperial Majesty, and much less do they quit the country, but obstinately continue in their errors. The states-general have, therefore, requested of his Imperial Majesty, that such citizens shall no longer be tolerated in the country, and that those non-catholics, who will not conform to the late regulations, shall at once be arrested, and their estates be sold by auction to the highest bidder; and that such as have no estates shall be punished with one month's imprisonment, and then be expelled. The commissions instituted last year by his Imperial Majesty on the subject of parsonages, churches, and exemplary clergymen, have, therefore, to proceed in their operations, and his Imperial Majesty is graciously resolved to furnish both the chief and the sub-commissioners, as soon as practicable, with the necessary instructions."

Though the principal emigrations took place in the years 1623, 1628, and 1651, the flight of those secret Protestants, who repented of the temporary hypocrisy to which they had been forced, was continued throughout the whole of the century. We find traces of it in 1670, and in 1683, when new exiles are known to have arrived at Zittau, but without being received by the authorities, owing to a command of the Elector of Saxony prohibiting emigrants from settling in the border towns. Besides, it was now perceived that many arrived, with whom religion was not the chief motive for quitting their country. A modern* historian says, therefore, very

* Fritzache, in the account of the Bohemian divine worship at Gebhardsdorf. *Lusat. Magazine*, 1826, 502. *History of Zittau*, i. 297.

correctly : " The old and new exiles are not merely distinct in time, but also in opinion. The old exiles were mostly quiet and peaceable Bohemians, who willingly submitted to the laws of the country, and of their respective places. Whereas, among the new exiles, there were many turbulent and conceited men, who came with extravagant ideas ; despising the preachers who were not according to their mind, they frequently ran to the churches of other places, and ultimately even moved off altogether, if everything did not proceed according to their notions. This is, perhaps, a cause why the authorities were in modern times so reluctant to receive new comers." In 1671 John George III. of Saxony gave a refuge to some exiles from the district of Zinnwald, who built Georgenfeld near Geysing in Saxony.

If anything were calculated to console the Bohemian Protestants of this period in their sorrows and troubles, it was the comparison of their condition with that of their yet more unhappily circumstanced fellow-believers in France, who, as has already been related,* were suffering from the utmost fury of their enemies. Persecution, even at the very close of the 17th century, still followed the Evangelicals who had contrived to remain in the country, especially in the frontier towns.†

A striking picture of the anti-reformation is

* See page 130.

† It was certainly much worse in other imperial territories. Thus in Hungary, forty-four Protestant preachers were in 1675, chained together at the instigation of the Jesuits, and dragged to Naples, where, however, only thirty arrived, the rest having perished in consequence of their sufferings by the way. In after years these unfortunate men were liberated through the intercession of the Dutch Admiral de Ruyter.

given in the account of those events which took place during the autumn of 1696, in the little village of Fuga, near Schluckenau, in the district of Leitmeritz.

The priests and officers came to the justice-rooms or public houses of Fuga, with very friendly words, endeavouring to persuade the people to become Romanists. But as the men declined their proposal, they called the women before them, and held out great promises, if they would induce their husbands to embrace the Popish religion; but all in vain. The men were then summoned to Schluckenau, conducted into the Roman Catholic church, placed in the best pews, and the priest of the place delivered to them a mild and enticing sermon. They were after this taken to the manor-house, asked how they liked the service, and told that it was nearly the same, whether they were Lutherans or Catholics! If they would but diligently repeat the Catholic prayers, God would enlighten them. When this also proved unsuccessful, a strange priest arrived, whose name was Balzer Falke. He brought with him some pater-nosters for distribution, but the people would not accept them. All his persuasions remained without effect, and the town-clerk was so exasperated, that he rose up and said: "The devil take him, *he* would not wish to be where Luther was."

At last the Dean of Schluckenau came out, pressed them closely on the subject, and said: "If there were a single word in the holy scripture, which could prove the truth of the Lutheran religion, I would immediately be converted. But I do not find it to be the case! It is, therefore, better to be lame and deformed in our religion, than to enjoy

good health, and dwell among the Lutherans." He then explained the seven sacraments, saying, that marriage was one of the principal duties. Having previously permitted the people to ask him any questions they pleased, a certain George Schreiber, a pious and modest man, then said: "Your reverence will pardon me, but if marriage be a sacrament, why do *you* not marry?" To which he replied: "It is very well to ask me. But you must know, that no one is compelled to get married; it is done voluntarily." The other then said: "It must, however, be a great sin, when *all* of you despise this holy sacrament!" After these words he was enjoined to be silent, for the people could not refrain laughing at the Dean, who now became very angry. Seeing that his explanations produced no effect, the civil authorities came out and told the people either to embrace the Catholic religion, or remove from the village within four weeks, alleging (which was, perhaps, really the case) that their gracious Count had incurred the displeasure of the court, for tolerating Lutherans in his territories.

A detailed account is further given in this statement of the conduct of almost all the inhabitants, who, remaining constant, were compelled to emigrate. One who had lately become a Lutheran, was particularly tormented. They spit in his face, threatened to place him among the soldiers at Leitmeritz, and compelled him to surrender his smithy without compensation. The Lutheran inn-keeper was so long tormented by the Romanists, that he resolved to sell his premises. Upon the Protestants being removed, and their houses in the possession of the Romanists, the village of Fuga was, in 1697,

incorporated by Prince Dietrichstein with the town of Schluckenau.

But even in the eighteenth century, religious persecutions and emigrations had not yet ceased, for disturbances broke out repeatedly, and various emigrations took place, especially between the years 1725 and 1732.

In 1719 the chief persecutor was the bishop of Königingrätz. He employed soldiers to enforce attendance at the Papal worship; and the Protestants could only meet secretly in the most secluded places. Again, in 1732, many were very cruelly treated if they evinced but the slightest desire for Evangelical religious liberty. This was especially the case in the district of Königingrätz, where the Protestants, after being buoyed up with false hopes of deliverance, were betrayed, by a pretended friend, and thrown into prison, where many of them perished.

At the same time the archbishop Firmian, and his chancellor Räll, commenced a persecution against the Protestants of Salzburg, an account of which we shall lay before the reader in the words of the historian Panse.

“The curator of Werfen caused eleven subjects of his district, and two of the domain of Hausselhof, to be chained and imprisoned, because they committed the crime of believing differently. Ruined in health, and broken down in spirit, they at last crept from their dungeons, and though impoverished by a long absence from their sphere of industry, they had to purchase the common blessing of the light of heaven with the sum of 700 guilders. The intention of the commander ran swiftly through the whole chain of his subordinates, like a shock of the

electric spark, and was understood by the mob, as though it had originated with themselves. New sources of gain were thus acquired, and denunciations proved profitable. George Steiner, a youth of Buchberg, in the district of Werfen, was secretly accused of apostacy, and his father's house suddenly entered by the clerk of the court, with a guard, who sealed all the boxes, and carried away the keys. As the youth, who was pursuing his occupation in the forest, had heard of this occurrence, and escaped by a speedy flight, his father, a grey-headed man of seventy, was led to the prison in his stead. It also happened, that a Catholic priest forced the holy sacrament, in one form, upon a man named Ruprecht Winter, aged 73, then lying on his death-bed, and at the same time discovered a copy of Luther's homilies in some part of the house. As soon as this crime was denounced by the priest, the sergeants arrived from the castle, dragged the sufferer from his bed, fettered both him and his wife on a cart, and conveyed them to Werfen. But as the poor man's death was fast approaching, and the curator's affairs only were with the living, both the prisoners were dismissed from the castle, after paying a fine of 100 florins. These contributions greatly oppressed the subjects, and threatened to exhaust all their resources; but the curator only looked upon them as the means of a scanty revenue, and as a tedious mode of enriching himself. It depended entirely upon his will to accelerate the course of plunder, and to annihilate the last vestige of human justice. The penal law, which he had designed, seemed too mild; degenerate children were undeserving of any regard, and henceforth he laid

his heavy arm upon the province. The fines were raised to an exorbitant degree, and when these were scraped together by lamentable sacrifices, the unfortunate prisoner saw, at his first step from prison, every hand opened for the boldly demanded fees, which either reduced him to beggary, or forced him to retrace his steps into the gloomy dungeon. Under sanction of the law, they then took a piratical possession of his estates, and when tired of keeping a man, at the expense of the country, from whom nothing more could be extorted, they permitted him to return to a home, which had no longer a shelter for him. Simon Klammer, from the district of Werf, after enduring all the torments of a prison, was driven across the borders in a state of destitution, and could leave his wife and child nothing but the pity and the common right of the beggar. He was not the only sufferer. Hans Klammer of Bishofshofen was denounced as a suspected heretic, by his neighbour Ruprecht Reinbacher, and taken into custody. His honest confession, of preferring the Gospel before the dogmas of Rome, cost him several months liberty. Strangers ruled over his property ; and when he returned, in order to flee into the wide world, with his children, his last possession, he found his wife overwhelmed with grief, a childless mother, who had been robbed of her offspring. And how many cruelties of this curator are covered with darkness, how many sunk into oblivion, how many accusers have been silenced by the disturbances of Europe, consequent upon the oppressions of such tyrants !”

“ But, however grievous the oppression might be at Werfen ; in other places it was no better. At St. Johannis, Gastein, and Radstadt, all the prisons were

full, and after being plundered, the people returned without resources. At that time Gottlieb Staudacher of Wissbach, had the control of Taxenbach, and he was a worthy rival of the curator of Werfen. He did not hesitate under the name of religion, to perform the office of a beadle, and to intrude into the domestic circle. Ursula Pilzin, wife of Martin Burgschweizer of Azerg, was seized by him and a sergeant, in the midst of her four children, because Spangenberg's Sermons had been seen in her possession; and the unfortunate mother was dragged from one court of justice to another, until she was driven beyond the borders of Salzburg, her estates having previously been declared to be the property of the crown. About the same time Philip Meyerhoffer, a young countryman of St. Veit, in the district of Goldegg, was one day, devoutly but incautiously reading an evangelical book, when a spy burst open the door, and dragged him to the office of the curator, from the arms of his parents, who endeavoured to protect him. When, after being liberated, he was desired to take an oath on the Catholic faith, he made his escape into the clefts of the mountains. His father was therefore made responsible, and put into prison in his stead.

“ On all sides, these hapless men were lurking, like criminals, among the rugged and barren mountains, endeavouring to escape from the fearful violence which threatened them. No uniformity was observed in the proceedings; for arbitrary power unsupported by law and discipline, is irregular. On the 17th of March, 1731, Andreas Gapp, a young peasant of Gappenberg, in the district of Abtenau, was cited before the curator of Radstadt, to whose juris-

diction he did not belong, and put on his trial by the guards, because the priest had accused him of being a Protestant. By denying his creed, he gained his liberty the day before Maundy-Thursday; but on the 5th of April, he was again arrested, and could only procure liberation from his prison, by the bail of two Radstadt citizens; and even this was no protection, for truth and faith were no longer observed. After a few days he was again taken into custody, and now that falsehood could not save him, he publicly confessed his true faith. The provincial judge then ordered his left leg to be linked to a block of wood, so that this member was soon covered with wounds and ulcers. Tortured to madness by his insufferable pain, he promised the Capuchins, to abjure his faith if liberty should be granted him. This triumph the priests industriously blazed abroad, and yet Gapp had to pine eleven weeks longer in his prison, which he only exchanged at last for one of a larger size at Radstadt. He however made his escape, on hearing that he was sentenced to a fine of 52 dollars, besides hard labour among the male-factors at Salzburg.

“Where the secular arm of the tormentors could not reach, there the priest was in activity, for the purpose of bringing victims within their grasp. Not only did they deprive the Protestant of every ornament of life, and destroy the most valuable treasure, his honest name: but they even stigmatised the corpse on the bier, and debarred it from the vaults of its forefathers. Since the world has been in existence, mankind have always revered their dead; and been willing to sacrifice their all, to procure them a solemn exit. But now at Salzburg, the Protestant

was followed by no clergyman, he had no pall, for him the sexton refused his services, for him no psalms were sung, no bells tolled, and mute and solitarily did the degraded family walk behind the undecorated bier, in order to deposit the dear object of their love near the confines of the common graves. The Protestant was repulsed from the font, and his testimony was considered invalid. He was as one outlawed, because accused of having renounced all the civil obligations. The priest even pronounced the horrid prophecy of damnation, over the infant in its mother's arms, if, at any future time, the child should not curse its Protestant father. Every pillar of domestic happiness was shaken. Calumny took her station between the love of man and wife, and the utterance of a harsh word was changed by the vigilant priests into a crime, which no repentance could wipe away. The bond of filial obedience was dissolved, and the innate love of kindred, was pronounced to be an absurd tradition of mere custom, from which the church had the power to give absolution. What a miserable generation would the priests have reared, if the deep designs of nature could so easily have been frustrated ! Impoverished, as by contributions to an enraged enemy ; withdrawn by an arbitrary power from the sphere of their industry ; compelled by the priests, to lay down, at every hour of their appearance, the occupations of life, in order to be examined on the observance of catholic rules ; cruelly detained by caprice, in prison, or on trial, at the time when spring and harvest were waiting, and a second fine day might not be granted them ; and indifferent to the

soil, whose blessings were snatched from the labourer, they stood on the verge of civil annihilation."

The principles which then prevailed, may also be seen from the following report of Panse: "They began by giving the Jesuits a greater power than they ever had before, and by assigning to them the office of informers. These inundated the country under the name of moral preachers. But, instead of drawing the people to the Roman church, in the peaceable way of conviction, they pronounced upon them, in the public places of worship, the curse of condemnation, and thus kindled a dangerous presumption in the hearts of the Catholics, who began to take an earthly possession of their heavenly glory, and to renounce all obligations towards the anathematized. As the saving of souls was not their object, the inhabitant of Salzburg felt himself attacked in the most painful manner, by being forced to observe all the ceremonies of the Roman church. They compelled him to make garlands of roses for the images, when he wished to indulge in innocent pastimes; to take idle journeys in processions and on pilgrimages, when his industry was required for his family; and to repeat unintelligible words at mass, when he desired to seek God in his vernacular tongue. His house, the asylum of blissful habits and comfort, he had to open to the inquisition of spies, and in the place where of all others, he ought to have been master, he was degraded to the condition of a slave. His home was no longer a place of rest, but, as if it were the receptacle of smuggled goods, it was opened by the guards at all hours, day and night, for the purpose of making a seizure of Protestant books.

The brave mountaineer was forced to take an oath, where he had been accustomed to find credence for his mere word, and even the salutations from the pulpit, were criminal in his estimation, because he could not persuade himself to profane the holy name by pronouncing it in moments of indifference.

“ In this exasperated state of mind, it was, that Hans Lerchner of Obermaisz, in the jurisdiction of Radstadt and Veit Breme of Unterschwabock, in the district of Werf, were put in chains, because some evangelical books had been discovered in their houses, and because they preferred beggary to hypocrisy. After having been confined in a filthy dungeon, as malefactors, for several weeks, and in vain demanded the mercy of a trial, or the humanity of impartial justice, they were restored to the blessings of light, but not to those of their native soil. Torn from the embraces of their nine children, who had come to meet their restored fathers, they were driven beyond the borders of Salzburg, as though they had been branded with the stamp of infamy. The executioners of this sentence had learned to understand hints, and sequestrated the estates of these unfortunate men, under pretence of fatherly care for the orphan children.

“ The stroke in Salzburg was felt in the neighbouring provinces, and they perceived with terror, that in the whole Catholic world the train was already prepared, which might be kindled by the flame that had spread over the archbishopric. The cloister of Kempfen was threatened by indefinite movements of secret Protestants, and in a circuit of a few miles more than a thousand men were waiting for the favourable

moment, openly to take side with the Protestants. In Tyrol the greatest exertion was requisite, to destroy the glory of so dangerous an example; and a closing of the frontier against the Salzburg fugitives, was nothing more than a needful measure of defence. This excitement extended as far as Italy; and the Jesuits, who were terrified at the idea of a general emigration, had never so much to do, as at present, and now only they perceived their error of having forgotten the *people*, while they were busily intriguing with the *rulers*.

“A thousand forcibly suppressed wishes of the Hussites in Silesia, were suddenly revived by the events in Salzburg, and excited great fears in Vienna. Bohemia, the first scene of the thirty years war, began to give Charles VI. some uneasiness; and seven villages in the district of Königingrätz, rose simultaneously, in order to seek another home for their long concealed Protestant religion. Forty peasants were imprisoned in Königingrätz, thirty in Jaromirz; and the rest were forced to a respect for Romanism by the bayonets of five companies of soldiers. A schoolmaster expiated in Prague, his transient pleasure of playing the principal part, and by two hundred lashes he was made to confess, that the Prussian commission, upon which he had grounded his undertaking, had been forged. But still there was an ominous flight of secret Protestants; and an electoral commissioner presented them with privileges on the borders of Saxony. Though the Jesuits cast the web of intrigue around the apostates, and kept them entwined in the bonds of vassalage, still the movement could not be suppressed, and Charles sought advice in a conference in November, having

heard that even many Bohemian magnates had secretly fled across the borders. All these symptoms were called to light by Firmian, archbishop of Salzburg, and instead of being grateful, the Catholic church made him responsible for the consequences, of having permitted Protestant Europe a view of her diseased interior."

These affairs were, however viewed in a very different light by the Romanists; who prayed constantly for the "extirpation of all heresy."

CHAPTER X.

SECRET PROTESTANTS IN BOHEMIA—SUPPRESSION OF
THE ORDER OF JESUITS—THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II.
PUBLISHES AN EDICT OF TOLERATION—FORMATION
OF EVANGELICAL COMMUNITIES—SUBSEQUENT CON-
DITION OF THE PROTESTANTS.

THOSE inhabitants of Bohemia who had not resolution enough to emigrate, but were yet really disinclined to embrace the Popish religion, were forced to adopt the outward appearance of Romanists ; but it may be imagined with what inward disquietude and compunction, with what struggles and self-reproach ! In order to their personal safety, they had daily, or at least frequently, to attend the mass, the processions, and pilgrimages, as their absence would have excited suspicions of their sincerity. An adherence to Protestantism, which was so little understood by the other party, would have been construed into a determined refusal to be a Christian. Especial strictness was observed with regard to their making aricular confessions, which had to be proved by confessional certificates. These were sometimes procured from Romanist friends, who, obtaining several, might have one to spare ; and more rarely by means of bribery. In this manner some managed to elude the Jesuits, when they held a visitation in their parish.

Here and there the secret Protestants and Utraquists were yet so numerous, especially among the lower class, whose conversion was not so strictly attended to, that in many places there were scarcely three really Popish families. The Bible was secretly read, and whoever had an opportunity, went across the borders to hear Evangelical ministers. Occasionally there were some well-meaning and less prejudiced, or bribed provincial priests, who did not much disturb their parishioners in the use of their religious books, though these might be the works of Protestants; they even gave the people some warning hints, whenever the Jesuits and Dominicans were about to make a search for books. But if detected in such kind actions, the humane priests were either imprisoned or dismissed, or at least removed to another parish.

These secret Protestants were constantly confirming and edifying themselves by an attentive and diligent perusal of the holy Scriptures, which had the greater value because it was prohibited. They were indeed without regular divines; but this was even advantageous in one respect, since there could be no occasion for disputation. Sometimes, however, they were visited by clergymen from Slavonia,* who after stationing sentinels in different parts of the forest, secretly administered to them the holy sacrament in both forms, according to the ordination of Christ. On these occasions they consoled themselves with the words of Jesus, John viii. 31; xv. 14. Information on this subject is given in the "Evangelical Palm-tree," containing "credible thoughts of the often and much oppressed, but

* A kingdom of the house of Austria.

never yet wholly suppressed, confessors of the pure gospel in Bohemia." And Salig says, in his celebrated history of the Augsburg Confession, 1730 : "If all those people, who are yet under oppression, were to come forward, we should be astonished at their great multitude!" Some oppressed Protestants had thus always remained in the country. They longed for their friends who had emigrated, and the emigrants sighed for those they had left at home. The author of the above-named "Palm-tree" said in 1765, that the number of secret Protestants, yet preserved by Providence in Bohemia, notwithstanding the numerous emigrations during the 17th century, and from 1722 to 1742, would best be ascertained, "when Bohemia should one day be governed by a Protestant prince."

The last chapter of "the Book of Persecutions" treats of these remains of Utraquists and Brethren, Lutherans, and Reformed, in Bohemia, as the following extracts will shew. "As soon as the enemies began to prove victorious, the church had no want of pious teachers, who, publicly and privately, in their sermons and writings, apprized the people of the impending persecutions, and exhorted them to be prepared. These persecutions levelled many pillars; most of the grandees, several of the clergy, and a large number of the people. But how has the honour of God, and the welfare of mankind been promoted? Scarcely shall we have tears enough sufficiently to lament over it. Among the great number of those, who renounced the Evangelical faith, not one was fully convinced that he was now about to enter the true path of salvation. From fear, and a desire of pleasing man, in thought-

less, blind precipitancy, they forsook their faith, following the example of others; but they greatly violated their conscience. Do you suppose that your forced Catholics are really yours with an undivided heart? Withdraw your gold, and your other means of allurements, remove your swords and your instruments of torture, proclaim liberty of conscience; and you will soon see whether they have really embraced your religion. O, boast not foolishly too much of those who have but joined you through compulsion, and with the view of pleasing man! But may God turn this to your benefit! The wheat has thus been cleansed from the chaff, and the gold from its dross. Now we see who was really and who feignedly a follower of Christ; we see the strength of the love of God, the weakness of pretended holiness, and whose love of religion exceeded their love of home! What will now become of the seduced people? With the apostle Paul we must weep over them; for what is predicted in the Revelations (xxi. 8) concerning the "fearful and unbelieving?" Their danger is greater than they imagine. (Heb. vi. 4, 5. Gal. vi. 7.) But *one seed has been left*, which may grow to a plentiful harvest in the field of the Bohemian church; for 12,000 individuals continued conscientious, and emigrated. Besides these, there are yet in Bohemia and Moravia upwards of 7,000 faithful believers, who were not so much oppressed in some districts of the less severe noblemen. Let no pious Christian envy them this grace! We also know that many, like Peter of old, have bitterly *repented* of their fall, which is evident from letters addressed by them to their former pastors. Others, who are not living far

from their Evangelical ministers, have again joined our church; while some are ardently longing for the time of their redemption, and would be ready, at all hazards, to return to their former faith. They, therefore, call more loudly than others for divine mercy, and like ourselves,* they take comfort in their present troubles from a constant hope and trust in the help of God."

As the secret Protestants were constantly edifying and confirming themselves by the perusal of books, it became a chief object, with their opponents, to prevent all importation of Protestant writings into Bohemia, and completely to destroy those that were yet extant, after the many thousands which had already been burned. Whoever possessed a Bible, was denounced, even from the pulpit, "as having the devil in his house." An instance has also been known where a boy of only fifteen years of age was most cruelly treated, entirely because an Evangelical Prayer-book had been seen in his possession. Secret promoters of the book-trade in Bohemia were sure to be visited with severe punishments.

As no old religious works were tolerated in Bohemia, and the Protestants were not permitted to print new ones, these hidden believers satisfied their wants in the town of Zittau in Lusatia. This secret and adventurous trade in books was carried to a very flourishing condition in 1720, by the already named Wenzel Kleych; which individual was from Luzan near Leitomischl, and originally a peasant. Having incurred the threats of the authorities in his native place, by reading of Protestant books, he fled in 1705 with his wife and two little daughters to Zittau, where he maintained himself by manual

* i. e. the ministers who took refuge in Holland.

labour. Some Hungarian Evangelical clergymen induced him to commence the book trade, and he established his principal depository in Teschen. Through Stremel's printing-office in Zittau, he published in 1720 a Bohemian New Testament, with a preface and introduction by Christian Pescheck, the great-grandchild of him who was so tortured by the Jesuits that he died in his prison, and whose history we have already given above. By degrees Stremel printed many Bohemian works for them, such as Jacobäi's Prayers, Peschek's Bohemian translation of Langhan's Sermons for children, Moteschizky's Lent Sermons, 1683; a Bohemian Hymn-book, 1685; and a Service, 1734. After the death of Kleych, about 1768, the business was continued by his son-in-law, Martin Horak, (Berger,) from the district of Czaslau, who published at Lauban various editions of Bohemian books, sometimes of 6000 copies each. He also procured the Bohemians some Bibles in their vernacular tongue, from Canstein's Bible printing-office in Halle; and published the much-admired Spaletshi, *i. e.* very small pocket prayer-books. For ten years Berger continued active in the interests of the secret Protestants of Bohemia.

A Bohemian Hymn-book of 1800 hymns was also printed at Halle in 1737.* The works of the active Moteschizky, minister to the exiles in Zittau, were much valued in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and by the Slowakes in Hungary; especially his translation of German Domestic Homilies in 1668. Though

* See Sarganek, in Act. Hist. Eccles. vi. 237, &c. There were about 5000 Bohemian hymns of the "Brethren," of Trumascius, and more modern authors. On the merits of Kleych see the Lusatian Magazine for 1840, 374, &c.

these works were originally designed for the exiles of Bohemia, they were also eagerly sought after in the country itself; and the Zittau publishers thus contributed greatly to the preservation of Protestantism in the imperial territories. Kleych, however, did not publish his name on his books.

In the year 1734 the King of Prussia made intercession on behalf of the Protestants in Bohemia; and in the following year at the Diet of Ratisbon Bohemian deputies sought to obtain at least private religious exercise, or permission to emigrate. But a more decided proof of the prevalence of Evangelical religion was given in 1738, when the Catholic clergy sent a list of secret Protestants in Bohemia to Vienna, where the archbishop also complained of their increase.

Though the middle of the 18th century presents no example of a general persecution, because the former Evangelical families were now supposed to be extinct; there were nevertheless two causes of anxiety for the secret Protestants: first, the base and contemptuous treatment of individual Protestant foreigners, whose bodies were refused interment in the churchyards, and next the frequent reports of the persecution of Evangelicals in Hungary, of the great distresses they endured in Silesia, even until 1741, and especially of the cruel treatment of those in Steyermark, besides various other places, some of which have already been referred to.

The actual number of secret Protestants in Bohemia, was at last revealed in 1781, a year which will ever be memorable in the religious history of the country.

This was the year, in which the enlightened and humane Emperor, Joseph II., published the cele-

brated Edict of Toleration, through which the non-catholic Christians in the imperial provinces, obtained, if not equal rights, at least toleration and the free exercise of their religion. No one could have been more exasperated at this, than the Jesuits; but these were removed, for a few generations at least, in 1773, in consequence of the famous bull on that subject, of Pope Clement XIV.

This occasioned in Bohemia, and especially in Prague, no trifling change, to the advantage of the Protestants. They now enjoyed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, and full and unrestricted civil rights, and were released from the interference of the Popish clergy in their church affairs; all that they were yet bound to do was, to report their ecclesiastical proceedings to the parish minister, and to contribute to the surplice fees.

Pelzel, referring to these events, remarks, that "fortunate as was the year 1773, for the inhabitants of Bohemia; just as unfortunate it proved for one of the most celebrated and most powerful orders, namely, the Jesuits. Pope Clement XIV., had thought proper entirely to dissolve this order. And on the 4th of September, the papal Bull for their dissolution, was published at Prague; and soon afterwards, on the 5th of October, it was read to the members in the Profession-house on the Kleinseite, and to those who were in the colleges of the old and new-town. By an order of the Bull, the abolished Jesuits had to lay aside the habiliments of their order, and to dress like the secular clergy. Eight or ten days were allowed them to remain together in their houses, until they had procured the necessary articles of dress, towards which each received 120 guilders; board and apartments

were also provided for them in the town. They then gradually departed from their colleges. The Government took possession of all their estates and property, and gave sixteen guilders a month to each priest, until they could be provided for by other means. And thus terminated for a season, this remarkable order, which had been introduced into Prague, immediately after its establishment, which had so greatly increased in Bohemia, where its possessions amounted to upwards of eight millions, and which had produced more learned men in that country, than all the other popish orders taken together. This body at the time of its suppression, numbered, in Bohemia and Moravia, 1130 members, who had twenty large colleges and twelve residences." The opinions concerning this dissolution have been very various, but it will easily be imagined, what those Bohemians, who favoured Protestantism, thought and felt on that subject.

After this dissolution, Joseph's Toleration-Edict of the 13th October, 1781, appeared; having been preceded on the 4th of May, by an order, rendering null and void the Papal Bulls "in cœna Domini,"* and "Unigenitus,"† and on the 30th of June by a cabinet decree, which repealed all restrictions formerly imposed on the Protestants. This edict (similar to the privileges granted by Rudolph in favour of the Protestants, and to the edict of Nantes given

* The Bull in *cœna Domini*, is a bull read every year on Maundy-Thursaday, in the Pope's presence, containing various excommunications and execrations against heretics.

† *Unigenitus*, called also the constitution; this famous bull, deriving its denomination from the initial word, was issued in 1713 by Clement XI., and in which Quesnel's book, entitled "Moral Reflections on the New Testament" was condemned, and 101 propositions contained in it were pronounced heretical.

by Henry IV. of France,) for which the nation was already prepared by various enactments* of the Empress Maria Theresa, the mother of Joseph, who openly evinced a mild and tolerating disposition—created an uncommonly great sensation. On the one hand it occasioned the liveliest joy, combined with the deepest gratitude to the good father of his subjects, the ever memorable Emperor Joseph II;† but among some it produced great indignation, for they thought that the sovereign had no power to grant that which could only be properly discussed and settled in Rome, where it certainly would have met with the greatest disapprobation, since it was wholly opposed to the principles of the conclave there.

Nor were those doctrines yet entirely forgotten which the Jesuits had in their writings and sermons, at the confessional and in various other ways, impressed on the minds of the rulers: that they were bound to persecute and expel, or rather extirpate all those, whom they (the Jesuits) denounced as heretics, and towards whom no faith was to be observed; but they were to be deprived of their offices, dignities and privileges, without regard to treaty, constitution, or promise; that neither the

* Thus a church was consecrated in the year 1776 for the Greek Christians at Vienna, in the presence of the Empress Maria Theresa, and the service was performed in the Illyrian tongue. Non-conforming Greeks had permission for private worship.

† This edict was called: "The most precious pearl in Joseph's crown." A house near the old shambles of Vienna, bears the following remarkable inscription referring to that period: "This house is perishable; but Joseph's fame will last for ever. He gave toleration, and that gave him immortality."

number, nor the power, nor the usefulness of the heretics, were to be taken into consideration; and that the rulers had no choice, being bound to persecute the heretic even to death, although he should be a Prince. The same Jesuits, who felt aggrieved when not permitted to settle in England, although tolerated in Ethiopia, Persia, &c., would not allow the Protestants to complain, when they were to be expelled from Bohemia, and were no longer to be considered as fellow-christians.

Still what Joseph granted, was only a toleration-edict, a permission, or indulgence,* and by no means an equalization of rights, (against which the Emperor himself would however have had no objection,) or an authority to hold *public* Protestant worship. They were not yet permitted to have their own proper churches; the grant extended only to "private worship." They could only have "houses of prayer," without spires, or bells, without a portal in front of the street, and with common windows only; nor were they to be built of stone, but only of wood and clay, and then not inside the towns. The members of the community were moreover to remain tributary to the Catholic clergy, and much was done to aggravate all these circumstances.

Still the joy of the Protestants on this occasion was justly very great. The Emperor and the priesthood saw with astonishment how many individuals at once confessed that they were really not Romanists but Protestants.† Those families which had through

* In Hungary, however, the Protestants were not only *tolerated* but even *privileged*.

† "Hussitism has still a deep root in Bohemia; and with any degree of attention one perceives it here and there under the

compulsion, seemingly become Romanists during the anti-reformation were, however, so dispersed among the Popish population, that they had often some difficulty in finding certain central points for the erection of their houses of prayer. They had still to contend with great difficulties; for the people were poor, the state gave them no assistance whatever, and foreign benevolence was, generally speaking, their only resource. Besides the chapels there were also parsonages, ministers' salaries, and many other things to be provided for, and schools were at least very desirable. These difficulties were aggravated by those who would fain have deprived the Protestants of their newly-acquired privileges. That numerous obstacles were thrown in their way, will easily be imagined by all who know the haughty pretensions of the Popish church; and it required some courage to join those who were about to form an Evangelical community. The Emperor was fully aware that his arrangement would not continue without opposition, and he was therefore desirous that some rational and humane priests should instruct the people in the justice of his proceedings. While, therefore, several Popish festivals were abolished, the Emperor instituted a Toleration festival, in which the duty of religious toleration might always be recommended.* One of the remarkable writings of

cloak of Catholicism, with a slight admixture of the Greek doctrines," says the close observer Kohl, in his *Travels in the Austrian States*. Dresden, 1832, p. 257.

* In the Vienna Hymn-book there is an especial hymn for toleration. The first toleration festival in Upper Austria was celebrated October 13th, 1787, at Edt near Linz, on the

that period is a circular of John Leopold Hay, the then Bishop of Königingrätz, dated Nov. 20th, 1781, and addressed to the clergy ; in which he expresses his fear, that there might be some who, led by their zeal for conversion, would think they were doing a godly work, by delivering bitter controversial sermons against their fellow creatures of another creed, or by causing them other annoyance equally opposed to the spirit of Christianity, and thus, instead of forwarding the welfare of the church and state, they would only be tearing asunder the bonds of love. "In your pulpits," he says, "you are entirely to abstain from controversial sermons, which are equally annoying to both Catholics and Protestants. The former must be displeased with the implied suspicion, the latter must necessarily be exasperated by the bitter tone of the discourse. Instead thereof, you should explain the gospel on Sundays and holy-days, in such a manner as to benefit the people, both in their spiritual and temporal condition ! This source alone is quite inexhaustible."

He also says, that in the "Concilio Tridentino," Luther and Calvin are not mentioned by name ; neither should they name them, nor take away books from the people ; and on baptizing or burying a Protestant, they were to omit such parts of the service as did not suit the party, such as the questions concerning faith in the Roman Catholic church, and purgatory.

It is also remarkable, that the inquisition for proposition of the Superintendent Thielisch. But many of the clergy thought, as the one who wrote "*Religio introducta Lutherana and Calvinistica, pro dolor ! ob concordata tolerari cogitur !*" See the letter in the German Museum, 1787, ii. 157.

books, which had so long been prosecuted under sanction of the law, was abolished on the 4th of October, 1781. The bishop of Königsgrätz alluded to this subject in his address to his clergy:—"Be it known unto you, that henceforth no one may presume to disturb the domestic peace of families, pry into the secrets of private houses, or or seize a book from any individual. Those who are permitted to enjoy liberty of conscience and public worship, must necessarily be also left in the enjoyment of whatever tends to their spiritual comfort, or the divine service to which they adhere." He also prohibits his clergy from using any importunities towards dying Protestants, and expresses a wish that they would no longer be so strict in refusing burial in Roman Catholic churchyards, but use great discretion, in order to avoid disturbance among the common people.

The name Calvinist having of a long time been very hateful, it was deemed prudent not to renew it; the people of that sect were therefore said to be of the Helvetian, and the Lutherans of the Augsburg Confession. Several German Protestants settled in the Austrian territories, though all traces of distrust, ill-will, and intolerance were not yet obliterated, but, on the contrary, a greater opposition was evinced.

The clerical and secular authorities were immediately supplied with special rules, as to how they should proceed in matters of toleration. Every one desirous of adhering to another confession was to announce his intention to the local authorities, and the latter were to report the case. The non-catho-

lics* were not to molest their Catholic fellow-citizens on account of their religion, nor to disturb or despise their public worship, nor to use any violence, either against the churches or their images, and to abstain in all assemblies from religious controversies. Protestant children were not to be neglected in the public schools, and private houses were no longer to be searched for Lutheran books. The Romanists were to shew all manner of love and friendship to their "erring" fellow-christians, the authorities were neither to evince hatred or ill-will towards them, nor to make any difference in the infliction of punishments. The non-catholics were henceforth entitled to purchase houses and estates, to acquire citizenship and the privileges of masters, to share in academical honours and government offices, without rendering any other oath than that which should be in conformity with their religious principles. In all elections and appointments regard should merely be had to the respectability, capacity, Christian and moral conduct of the candidates, without reference to difference in their religion. Nor were the non-catholics to be disturbed in the performance of their devotions. If it should be necessary to inflict a punishment, they must be informed, that it did not take place on account of their religion; and if the Romanist should have originated the offence, he must, without distinction, equally be subjected to the penalty. In their discourses and instructions the clergy were to refrain from reproachful and abusive language, to impress their hearers

* Thus styled in the official publications, wherein they delicately made use merely of a negative expression.

more with religion and morality, than with erudition and theological differences, which the people could not comprehend. But the Protestants were prohibited from using any importunities or persuasions, whereby Romanist subjects might be reduced to apostacy. By a later explanation of the toleration edict, all persons announcing themselves non-catholic subjects were to be called before the authorities, and, in the presence of a clergyman, to be questioned on their religion and their principles. The ignorant and the wavering were to be instructed and exhorted to return to the Popish religion.

Where non-catholic schoolmasters were not yet appointed, the children were to learn reading and writing, at least, in the Romanist schools; baptisms, marriages, and burials, were also to be continued by the Popish priests until the erection of a proper meeting-house. The teachers to be appointed must be natives who have been educated in the normal school. The appointments and salaries of the pastors and teachers of the non-catholics, are to be wholly left to the management of that body. As a prerogative of the established religion, the Romanists shall be permitted (at the demand of the clergy, no doubt) to visit a non-catholic invalid, once of his own accord, without being asked to do so, to offer him his assistance, and if the invalid desires to return to the Romanist religion, he is to receive every support. The Romanist clergy are, however, to shew on such occasions the greatest gentleness, moderation, and love, and to refrain from all importunities, whenever the invalid declines their assistance. The registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, are

also for the future to be kept by the Popish priests of the place.

When desirous of appointing a pastor, the non-catholics must forward testimonials of moral conduct and capacity to receive the royal confirmation, either from the Teschen consistory of the Augsburg confession, or from the superintendent of Hungary. The provincial authorities were also instructed to see that the erection of meeting-houses did not injure the state of trade, so that the revenue might not suffer thereby. Collections towards the building expenses of the meeting-houses were to be made *out of the country*.

According to an act of the 27th July, 1782, the non-catholics were permitted to select their preachers (pastors without the title) from Hungary, Austrian Silesia, and in extreme cases from the kingdom, but by no means from Saxony, or Prussian Silesia. Whenever the non-catholics could number one hundred families, or five hundred individuals, they were to be entitled to a preacher; but to save expenses, communities were, as much as possible, to unite in one. Sacerdotal fees and dues were to be paid to the Catholic clergy, but not to the sexton or school-master. Wherever Popish priests were yet performing marriages and burials for non-catholics, they were to act as in Silesia, where the marriage service is read in German, and the corpse is accompanied by the officiating priest, without however consecrating the grave. Some talented, gentle, and discreet clergymen were to be chosen to receive the declarations of non-catholics, and their questions were to be short and pithy. It was recommended to use caution and moderation in all affairs of tolera-

tion, and to avoid exciting attention or tumult. The people were to be informed, that the reason of announcing their intention was, that the Emperor wished to remove all restraint of conscience, and that every one should enjoy religious liberty. Those who announced themselves as non-catholics to the commission, and declined, after a gentle and friendly persuasion, to return to the Popish religion, should meanwhile be counted among non-catholics; the declarations must, however, be made personally. After some time they were again to be summoned, men and women separately, and in presence of a priest, once more to be asked definitively about their resolution. The report was to be read to them, and they were required to subscribe to every individual declaration. They were then to be added to the list of those who were forming the requisite number applying for permission to have a meeting-house. The Emperor Joseph was, however, unwilling to appear, as though he were indifferent to the confession of his subjects, or as if he were even pleased with their Protestantism. He, therefore, expressly declared, that the maintenance, flourishing condition, and extension of the "only saving" Catholic religion still remained his principal care, and that he certainly wished that all his subjects would become adherents thereof under a voluntary conviction; but humanity had induced him to grant his Protestant subjects the toleration and exercise of their religion, according to the regulations sent forth. The expressions here used, "only saving," and "humanity," are certainly not very compatible; and Ferdinand II. thought it "humanity," to force his subjects to such a mode of salvation. The epithet "only saving" could scarcely have originated in the mind of the Emperor Joseph.

That the Protestant clergy in Bohemia, however, enjoyed but little public confidence, is evident, from the grievous regulation of government concerning the registers of births, marriages, and deaths. The pastors have indeed permission to keep such registers, but merely as "preparatory lists;" they must send a duplicate to the Popish priest, obtain a certificate of having done so, and note the same in the register. They are allowed, it is true, to give baptismal, marriage, and burial certificates; but these must first be *verified* by the Romanist ministers. The pastor dares not demand any fees for his trouble, for these are received by the priest. To give such certificates without the signature of the latter, or to receive the prohibited fees, is punished as a violation of the toleration-edict.

A year had not elapsed after the issuing of this edict, when the *first* Evangelical community, adhering to the Augsburg confession, was formed at Kreuzberg, in the district of Czaslau. But the first meeting-house was erected at Trnawka, in the Chrudim district. Prague, the capital, obtained that object a few weeks later. But in the same year two other communities were formed simultaneously, one German, and the other Bohemian; for the population of this town was at all times a mixture of the two nations. This circumstance was also a cause of the dissension which prevailed, after a union had been effected by wise legislation, between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, with reference to the divine service.

The German community of Prague was formed in 1782, under the name "Evangelical Military Community," principally through the instrumen-

talities of General Wurmser ; which gentleman had also granted part of his residence to be used as a meeting-house, and here the preacher, Schmidt, from Erlangen, commenced his duties on the 15th of September, 1782. This military community was also joined by the German citizens of Prague, both of the Augsburg and Helvetian confessions, and by the foreign journeymen. The second was a civil community, consisting of Bohemians, whose divine service was also conducted in the General's residence, by the preacher Markowitz.

In 1784, however, the latter were enabled to purchase a proper building for their place of worship by contributions from abroad.

The legal conditions respecting the use of a church as a meeting-house, were, that the steeple, bells, and cross should be removed, and that it should externally have the appearance of a merely private dwelling. The steeple was eventually suffered to remain, and the meeting-house was consecrated on Whitsunday, 1791, by the pastor, Götschel : it was then simple in its interior, but has been gradually embellished. In 1823, the German community obtained their own school, which was opened in 1827.

The number of Lutherans in Bohemia lately amounted to 27,600, and that of the Reformed to 52,000. In 1843, however, both together amounted to 85,000 souls. The appearance of the meeting-houses is simple and even insignificant, owing to legal restrictions, and to the principles and poverty of the Protestants. The condition of the preachers is very unfavourable, on account of the scantiness of their emoluments, the dispersed dwelling-places

of the members of their communities, and the arrogance of most of the Romanists. The superintendents are subordinate to their respective consistories at Vienna, one of which, the Lutheran, was, previous to 1784, established at Teschen, whose superintendent Bartelmus, composed in 1787, the liturgy now used in the Bohemian evangelical churches. These consistories were established at Vienna, on the 1st of June, 1785, and are formed of Evangelical men; the general superintendent, however, is a Romanist.

Respectable members of the community are appointed wardens. All expenses for church and school purposes, are defrayed partly out of the regular funds of the communities, but chiefly by contributions from other countries. One of their greatest grievances is the payment of the customary fees to the Romish priests, as well as the contributions to their building expenses. Protestant mothers, also, if married to Romanists, are not allowed to instruct their daughters in the Protestant religion, and the dead must not be buried in the consecrated ground of the Romanists.

The dispersion of the parishioners is a great impediment to the Protestant public worship. Thus the little church of Krzischliz consisting of 2050 members, from 49 different places, is dispersed over a space of eight square miles.

Collections towards church-buildings can only be made out of the country; and these are now much wanted, for the buildings so hastily and slightly erected in the reign of Joseph II., are in a very dilapidated condition. It is a great consolation to many of these poor Bohemians, that the

Gustav-Adolph Institute, in Protestant Germany, can now afford them hope and assistance !

We must, however, once more return to the Toleration edict of 1781. This act of justice and humanity was highly praised by many enlightened Catholics, besides native and foreign Protestants. The Jesuits, who would have opposed and blamed it, were then no longer in power. The Popish populace murmured here and there, and hence arose (through the priests) many reactions and collisions ; toleration was, also, in some degree, restricted by a decree, of November 18, 1784, wherein reference is made to a cabinet order of October 28, and which, though it permitted the pastors of both the Protestant communities to visit their fellow believers, and to instruct their children, prohibited any one from being present at the instruction, except the father of the family, and the non-catholic domestics. Further it says, that since many people in the provincial towns have, from time to time, seceded from the Catholic religion, the priests are to exhort their people to constancy in the *right* faith, and to caution them against the *errors* of the two tolerated non-catholic sects ; it was also to be inculcated, that the sects which were separated from the Catholic church could have no true priesthood, because they had no properly consecrated bishop, nor canonically appointed clergymen. The Catholic preachers were however to abstain from all abusive language, quarrels, and controversies. As late as 1787, a Bohemian bishop published a prayer against heretics, which was used in some places of worship. In Tirschowitz, in the Leitmeritz district, the Popish community sought to punish a cottager, for having

been sponsor at a Protestant baptism ; but the Dean of Ausche rejected their application. In the village of Tschide, in the Bunzlau district, on one of Count Wallenstein's domains, the peasantry conspired to kill the first that should declare himself a Protestant ; and in Trnowy, of the same district, a bailiff threatened a peasant with flogging, in case he joined the Lutherans.

But whatever the Evangelical church, in the imperial territories, wanted in *external* influence, that she endeavoured to supply by acquiring the esteem of the other sects ; and this object she gained by means of the spirit of justice and probity in her adherents ; by her simple, but edifying, and mostly well matured sermons, and by her animated and impressive mode of worship. Her members have, by degrees, acquired a greater confidence ; her public worship, especially in the larger towns, is frequently also attended by Catholics, who by no means consider it as too frigid and monotonous, but estimate the service according to its true value. Now and then even members of different sects contribute freely and cheerfully towards the maintenance of their church and school establishments. The good and beneficial principles of these establishments are daily becoming more universally acknowledged.

In reference to these contributions, an Evangelical preacher, who was then living in Bohemia, makes the following remarks : "The Protestant communities received considerable donations towards the building of their meeting houses, even from the reigning Prince, and from some grandees of the Roman religion. A noble and enlightened Catholic, who is much revered by the Bohemian

Protestants, made a successful appeal to equally noble-minded Catholics, and thus collected considerable donations on behalf of some provincial communities. The nobler part of the Catholic clergy evinced from the first a spirit of toleration, humanity, and liberality. I rejoice even now, that I have myself been, for nine years, an eye-witness of, and a participator in, this beautiful religious toleration, and brotherly concord.”*

Among other benefits resulting from the toleration edict, the happiness felt by the Protestants at their no longer being obliged to conceal their Evangelical books at the risk of their lives deserves to be noticed ; that this was no longer a cause for surprising them in the dead of the night, and of being harassed by an inquisition of priests. Lutheran and Reformed Hymn and Prayer-books, and Bibles, were now allowed to be purchased abroad, and might even be printed in the imperial states.

“The monument of the Emperor Joseph,” says a talented author of modern times,† “is kept for the present deeply concealed in the hearts of several millions, who revere his memory in private. But let him once find a successor, who will venture to follow in his footsteps ; and it will not be long before the public will everywhere exhibit his statue in brass and marble.”

* The words of John Borott, (late pastor of Haber, Kowanez, and Krabschitz, in Bohemia) in his edition of His Majesty's letter, p. 9.

† Kohl, in his Travels in Austria, p. 90.

CHAPTER XI.

DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING THE EMIGRATION OF THE
PROTESTANTS FROM BOHEMIA — INSTANCES OF
SUFFERING AND CONSTANCY—RESTING-PLACES OF
THE EXILES — RECEPTION AT ZITTAU — GROSS-
HENNERSDORF — SCHÖNBRUNN — THE MORAVIAN
BRETHREN — BUILD HERRNHUT—THEIR CONGREGA-
TIONS— MISSIONARY STATIONS—THE DIASPORA—
SETTLEMENT AT NIESKY—THE EXILES AT GEB-
HARDSDORF — DRESDEN — PIRNA — ZINNWALD—
NEUSALZ—SCHNEEBERG — FREIBERG—ZWICKAU—
JOHANNGEORGENSTADT — WIESENTHAL — WITTEM-
BERG — BERLIN — IN SILESIA — HOLLAND — ENG-
LAND — SWEDEN — DENMARK — AND POLAND —
AMOS COMENIUS — HIS ADDRESS TO THE BOHE-
MIAN BRETHREN—CONCLUSION.

HAVING already described the melancholy period of 1621—1651, and the expulsion of the Protestants from their beautiful country; we shall now consider their actual parting, their flight into foreign lands, their arrival and the subsequent events which befel them in their exile.

“To preserve,” says the learned Götze of Lübeck, “the inestimable treasure of the gospel, and the glorious liberty of conscience, they did not hesitate to forsake their worldly treasures, and all that they possessed; therefore, they were also enabled to live in security and enjoy the blessings of our heavenly Father. We find zealous preachers, who undauntedly defended the truth, though this brought upon them excommunication and banishment; Christian

men of the nobility and military, who cheerfully endured the loss of their estates and their honours ; and further, godly housekeepers, who esteemed suffering for Christ's sake as greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. Though these individuals are already removed from their earthly habitations, and the miseries of their exile are no more, yet their posterity lives, and is so increased by the blessing of God, that justice requires of us, not only to preserve the names and deeds of their steadfast forefathers, and to make mention of their children and grandchildren, but also to praise the Lord for the wonders He has wrought in their behalf ; for He has strengthened their faith, removed their fear, endowed them with a spirit of love and fortitude, accompanied them in their wanderings from their fatherland, and preserved their children and grandchildren in the path of righteousness."

Of one of these exiles who died at Leipzig, in 1647, it is recorded, that " he valued the blessed word of God above every thing temporal, and on that account frequently exposed himself, even at Prague, to the danger of his life. For at that time the Catholics first closed the churches ; then imprisoned, tortured, and expelled the Lutheran preachers ; and strictly prohibited the use of Lutheran hymns and prayers. They furthermore, ordered, under forfeiture of life, that no one should visit an Evangelical prisoner, or dissuade another from embracing the Roman religion. To this order he paid no regard ; for he diligently and fearlessly exhorted both his household and others to constancy ; comforting them by saying, that if they would only trust in God, He would turn every thing to a better

issue than they expected ; encouraging also himself and others with the maxim, ‘ that those who love the Lord, must take every thing for the best, as from Him, not even excepting death.’ He incurred no trifling danger by visiting a Lutheran preacher in prison, and supplying him with food. On one occasion he was summoned, with twenty-three others, before the imperial courts, for having, in the company of several thousands, attended a Lutheran sermon, contrary to the strict order of the Papists. His trial came on first, and for two hours and a half he was minutely examined, but with divine assistance he answered the Papists, from the word of God, without fear of life. He afterwards frequently said, that God the Holy Spirit, who graciously delivered him out of that danger, enabled him at the time to reply in the language of Scripture. When, at last, he was commanded to leave Prague before sunset of the 21st of April, 1628, he cheerfully departed on the appointed day, accompanied by his wife, four little children, and his domestics, praising God for having made him and his household worthy to suffer persecution for the sake of His holy truth, and for having, moreover, enabled him to take with him his dear children, whom the Papists had threatened to remove into cloisters.”

Owing to this last circumstance—the removal of the children—we frequently find that parents were obliged to seek a place of safety for them ; as was the case with John Christopher Martin, who had to be conveyed during the night to Görlitz, after his grandfather, Martin Wantsch, the local judge of Friedland, had been imprisoned on suspicion of his Evangelical creed. We have several particular

accounts of the removal of children into cloisters, for the purpose of giving them a papistical training. On one occasion some priests forcibly removed a little girl, and subjected her to manifold torments. Among other things one priest thought of giving her a practical lesson, by holding her fingers over a coal fire, remarking, that if she did not embrace the Catholic religion, she would in hell have to endure a similar pain in her whole body for ever.

In the midst of all their tribulations the poor exiles experienced the power of the word of God; like David they esteemed it more precious than gold, and found it sweeter than honey to their taste. Its promises strengthened and comforted them, especially the declaration of Jesus himself: "If ye continue in my words, then are ye truly my disciples. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you."—John viii. 31; xv. 14.

Of the hesitation and irresolution of many in those truly difficult circumstances, when the gold was purified from the dross, and the wheat separated from the chaff, we have already spoken. "Here," says the Book of Persecutions, "one already saw how strong was real love to God, and how weak the mere outward show of piety. Besides the divisions which took place between friends and relatives, there were also many partings between man and wife, whenever either of them could not endure the trial of the cross. Husbands are living in exile, whose wives could not be persuaded to sacrifice their property for Christ's sake. On the other hand, there are wives abroad, who forsook their husbands in order to remain faithful to the Lord."

Balthasar Olisher, a cloth-weaver by trade, re-

sided in Ellbogen, where he was a member of the town-council, when, in 1627, the royal mandate arrived, which required every one to sign his name who was willing to embrace the Popish religion. He said to his son Jeremiah: "Well, my son, what are we to do? Shall we subscribe and become Papists; or sacrifice all we have, and go away with empty hands?" The son, then only fifteen years old, immediately replied: "Father, we had better do the last!" So they went to Zwickau. In passing through Reichenbach, the father happened to notice its parsonage, and said: "Well, my son, where will God bless *you* with such a house?" Full of confidence, the son replied: "God may perhaps give me this very parsonage, if I diligently pray and study." In 1644 Jeremiah Olisher was actually the minister of Reichenbach.

The difficulties attending the emigration and flight of the Bohemians were frequently increased, not only by family divisions, and the certainty of poverty, but also by various other circumstances, such as cases of pregnancy, mockery and malice of their enemies, selfishness of the remaining parties, and at the time when emigration became illegal, fear of the soldiers that were appointed to seize the emigrants, who generally chose the night for their purpose, and had many things to do, in order to elude the suspicion of the Romanists.

Numerous were the affecting scenes which took place between the exiles and beloved friends whom they left behind—some of these we have noticed in recording the expulsion of the clergymen; but a few words from the exiles themselves will give us the best idea of their feelings. Gal-

lus, Baron of Rächnitz, says, "When I could no longer remain a Protestant in my fatherland, on account of the imperial edict of 1629, I cheerfully, and in God's name, went into exile, with my dear wife and four little children, because I would not deny my love to the Lord Jesus : " and Erasmus Willich, who was first a minister in Silesia, and then a pastor at Zittau, has the following words on his epitaph : " In all possible ways I felt the trials of my pilgrimage to my heavenly fatherland. The pilgrimage is ended ; the fatherland is arrived at : sorrows are no longer known to me."

Speaking of the exiled clergymen, the authors of the Book of Persecutions, declare : " A great number of these servants of the gospel are, by the favour of God, still alive. The others we are unable to enumerate ; but of the two hundred " Brethren " that were in 1622 in Bohemia and Moravia, ninety-six are now living : the rest within these last ten years have been carried away by the sword, pestilence, terror, frost, hunger, and imprisonment, and by the diseases which such ill-treatment engenders." Many were for a long time obliged to wander about and ask for charity, but a large number made Zittau their abode.

" It is difficult," says Pelzel, " to collect any information respecting the literati, who after the expulsion, were dispersed all over Europe, and had no fixed residence. The history of those who did not publish works, or who made no mention of themselves in their prefaces, are plunged into the deepest oblivion." One of the most talented and deserving was Simeon Partlik, who was forced to lead a very unsettled life, and he laments that his homeless state had been a very great hindrance to

him in his literary labours. At one time he lived with some other Bohemian literati and noblemen in England, and continued also in connection with the family of Frederic the Palatine.

The citizens and tradespeople, took refuge generally in the towns and villages on the borders of Lusatia, and thereby not a little increased its population. All, however, were not equally constant in their exile. A return was desired by every one, hoped for by many, and undertaken by a few. But these were libelled by the Papists, who said: "As long as the Bohemian exiles have any resources left, so long they remain good Lutherans; but when they are obliged to live on short allowance, they relapse and return to the Bohemian flour-sacks, longing like the Israelites of old, after the flesh-pots of Egypt."

But how contented the emigrants generally were, may be seen from the following example. In 1719, on the marriage of his brother Christoph in Konigstein, Christian Peschek sent him a letter of congratulation, wherein he speaks thus of their ancestor, who belonged to the "Brethren:" "See, my brother, so constant, devout and pious, has been our blessed great-grandfather; and I am, therefore, wholly of opinion, that God is still favouring us for the sake of our parents and ancestors. We are prospering, (thus he wrote at a time, when he was entirely unacquainted with the prosperity of his children), he adds, perhaps in consideration of the uncommon firmness in the doctrines of the holy gospel, evinced both by our parents, who for Christ's sake forsook every thing they possessed in Bohemia and seized the wandering-staff, and by our great-grandfather, who far excelled many others in his faithfulness and piety."

Many, even of the higher classes, suffered great hardships in their exile ; among others, Henry Rechenberg, who, on March 22nd, 1668, addressed the deputies of the Lusatian towns, then assembled at Budissin, in the following manner :—" I cannot conceal from you the fact, that I was forced, during the Bohemian reformation, to forsake not only my own possessions, but also the estate of my lately deceased brother. Upwards of four years have passed, since I was compelled to reside inactively in Budissin. I am here with my dear wife and grown up children, who are suffering from ill health and other trials. All that I had is consumed, and I am at a loss where to procure a means of subsistence ; for to beg from door to door would be extremely painful to one who bears the ancient name of Rechenberg. I trust to God and to respected Protestant friends, for the support of my life, that I may be enabled to end the few remaining years of my far advanced age, in our blessed religion and the holy word of God. My humble and earnest request therefore is, that my honoured patrons and kind lords would assist me, according to their discretion, and would not desert me in my present distress. Our heavenly Father, who is a rich requiter of all good deeds, and who has even promised, that He will not leave a draught of water unrewarded, will also listen to the fervent prayers of a distressed family, and a thousand-fold requite you and your constituents, with temporal and spiritual blessings." Thus was this innocent man, who had been lord of two noble estates, compelled to write !

The following mournful letter is addressed to the town-council of Görlitz, by a disconsolate Lady, she signs herself, Anna Hedikiussin, afflicted exile-

widow in Neusalz : " If there be a sad and miserable condition, it doubtless is the one in which the afflicted exile widows have to live, for on them troubles and trials seem to come from all sides. Not only have they been forced to leave all they possessed and to become exiles ; not only have they nowhere a home, but must wander like fugitives ; not only are they reduced to live in the lowest state of poverty, but what is worse than all, being deprived of every earthly consolation, they have cause to shed bitter tears over their forlorn state. Of these unfortunate beings I am one ; for after having followed my husband in his sorrowful exile, I had the unhappiness to lose him four years ago in Hamburg, when engaged in the bitter task of begging for bread. Since then I am utterly forsaken, wandering in a strange land like a lost sheep, and like a solitary bird on the house top. In the lifetime of my blessed husband, I had yet one consolation ; for he provided for me. But since he departed, my consolation is gone, and I am compelled to seize the wandering-staff, for the purpose of seeking bread for myself and our little orphans. But this staff frequently occasions me many bitter tears, especially whenever I am harshly repulsed by those from whom I solicit help."

The following passage from a printed " Report on the present condition of the Bohemian communities at Berlin and in Silesia," also deserves a place here. " By the great mercy of God, a large number escaped from their enraged enemies, without danger, or particular injury. But on their road to where they expected to hear the glad tidings of the gospel, several lost their health, in consequence of their numerous difficulties and frequent night journeys ;

and besides the loss of provisions, which they had for immediate use, and even the few valuables set apart for cases of emergency, they endured many troubles and anxieties from being detained and interrogated on the unusual course they were taking. And yet all this is nothing compared with what many others endured in their emigrations. For these were not only arrested and stripped of all they possessed, but they were thrown, with their suffering and half naked little ones, into dark and dreary prisons; they were unmercifully chained, cruelly beaten, and frequently brought to great temptations by the torments of hunger and thirst.

“ When on their trials and examinations before the priests and secular courts, they refused to comply with the violent demand to renounce their design and their holy religion, they were always beaten again, always closer confined, and most cruelly ill-treated. Some of these unfortunate, but still firm and true confessors of the Gospel, were either publicly executed, or expired in their chains and fetters. Others have been sentenced to various kinds of hard labour, and were chained to the cart, like the worst description of felons. Others again, in order that their lives should be more embittered, have been detained in their filthy and intolerable prisons, until after the endurance of numerous trials and adversities, they contrived to escape, either by digging holes beneath their prison-walls, or by bribing their jailers; these were the better able to enjoy and appreciate their liberty of conscience and the preaching of the holy Gospel; and thus the Lord has also been glorified in the midst of the palpable darkness of Bohemian Popery, inasmuch as

these faithful confessors of the Gospel, have had the best opportunities, in the course of their examinations, not only to instruct and confound the enemies of the Gospel, but also to strengthen by their firmness many secret and timid disciples of the Lord, and to encourage them to a constant love of their Redeemer. Herein the good providence of God, was seen to be lovingly and successfully displayed."

The distresses and anxieties of the women deserve a particular description. We will here merely remind the reader of the great trials of those, who lost their husbands and fathers in the public executions of Prague, and of those whose husbands were outlawed and banished in the year 1621, or were forced to seek employment in foreign service. Even where they were themselves not subjected to personal violence, their hearts were sufficiently lacerated by witnessing the distresses of others. But it is known, that women sometimes displayed greater fortitude than the men.

Many touching scenes occurred at the re-union of husbands and wives after their separation. Thus the pastor, Stephen Pilarik, on being liberated from prison, unexpectedly met his wife and child, who had previously fled, at the house of pastor Adam Hartmann, in a village near Prague; from whence they went to Thorn.

The worst position was that of widows; many of whom did not long survive their husbands, as is proved by numerous monuments in Zittau for young wives from Bohemia. Several surviving widows of the exiled pastors, lived in Upper Lusatia, in the greatest poverty, and were only sup-

ported by the charity of ladies, who pitied the misfortunes of these innocent and respectable beings. Among others was the widow of the often mentioned Pastor Martini, from Prague. At the demise of her husband she had four young children, and was just expecting the birth of a fifth. In Pirna she lost all she had by the rapacious Swedes, among other things the valuable library of her husband. She then went to some exiled friends in Zittau, where she lost her youngest child; but at last she lived to see happier days with her affectionate sons.

From numerous biographies of the literati of that period, we learn that they had been compelled to emigrate even in their childhood. Thus Götze, in speaking of young Willich, son of the well known Erasmus, says: "Like his truly christian parents, he became an exile for Christ's sake, in the ninth year of his age, owing to cruel persecution; but it was not without a great drawback upon his education."

That so many of the clergymen who were dismissed from Bohemia, should afterwards have been appointed in Saxony and elsewhere, to such elevated posts as those of Superintendents and "*Pastores Primarii*," is certainly a very striking and remarkable circumstance, and which not only tends to their honour, individually, but also shews how much the communities of Bohemia lost by the expulsion of these talented men, who must have been sadly missed by their congregations, since those individuals who at first filled their places, were by no means equal to them in abilities. Nor can we suppose that such as came later were more talented, since they

had no longer any inducement or opportunity of emulating the learned Protestants.*

As two centuries have now nearly elapsed since the period of the exiles, their families are at present amalgamated with the rest of the people. The service which had formerly to be conducted in the Bohemian language at Pirna, Dresden, Zittau, Neusalz, Berlin, and various villages, has ceased, and the present generation perceives nothing of the exiles; the very name that was formerly familiar to all, is now only known to a very few. But whoever pays any attention to antiquity will still find many visible traces of them.

The memory of the exiles is also preserved by the Bohemian termination of their names, but especially by their descendants. Some families, such as Martini, Facilides, Frenzel, Lischer, Peschek, have, since then, considerably increased. Numerous families of the upper and lower classes, are aware of their origin from the exiles; as is the case with the Dubas in Saxony, who still possess the document whereby their common ancestor was made an outlaw. Upper Lusatia has thereby not only obtained an increase of population, but has also gained a number of talented and useful men. The town of Zittau especially, can boast that the most deserving directors of the college were the children of exiles;

* In a sermon preached in 1654, at Scheyr, by the old Licentiate and Prior Æmilian Ferrer, are the following words:—"I may say that a priest is more even than Christ himself; for Christ must be subject and obedient to the priest, at whose will and words he *must* appear under the "host," at mass and consecration, where, when, and as often as the priest wishes."—Caroli Memorabil. Eccles. Seculi xvii. (1702) p. 98.

such as Christian Keimann, who was a native of Pankraz in Bohemia, and had emigrated with his father; Christian Weise, the excellent and far-famed school-director and author, whose father, Elias Weise, also an excellent teacher, was the son of an exile from Leichtenberg, and whose mother, Anna Profelt, had emigrated from Kamnitz in Bohemia. The next rector, Gottfried Hofmann, a pedagogue of the first class, was yet a child when he emigrated with his father from Silesia, on account of their religion. Anton Günther, con-rector, was the son of the frequently named Wolfgang Günther, superintendent of Friedland; and Christian Peschek, teacher of mathematics in Zittau, and by his works, for a long time the instructor of many countries, was a destitute descendant of an exile. The celebrated historian and grammarian, Abraham Frenzel, was also descended from an exiled family.

Next to these general descriptions of the condition of the exiles, the most important consideration is their places of refuge. On three sides, the east, south, and west, they were surrounded by the territories of the Emperor, and by those of his Bavarian allies; in the north alone were the gates of liberty. The Brethren, the Utraquists, and the Calvinists, against whom there was then a great prejudice, even in Saxony, directed their course north-west to Holland, or north-east to Prussia. Some of them even went to Sweden, and England. Great was their longing for a peaceable residence, where they might be at least free from those oppressions, to which they had been subject in their native land.

A large portion of Saxony is only divided by

a chain of mountains from a long line of Bohemian towns ; and some districts of Bohemia found a still easier entrance into the neighbouring province of Upper Lusatia. Ferdinand II., having sought assistance from John George, elector of Saxony, in order to overpower his revolting subjects, gave him Lusatia for his services ; and thus the Protestants of Bohemia found in that province a place of refuge against persecution. Here they could no longer be harassed by the Jesuits and Lichtenstein dragoons ; here they were protected by a Lutheran Prince, and enjoyed the friendship of their fellow believers. They could now even receive their emigrating and banished countrymen into their own houses, and afford them support, shelter, and safety, against the fury of their enemies. The southern part of Lusatia was, therefore, the principal place of refuge for the exiles. It was so near, and consequently so convenient during their long cherished hope of a return ; and the language of the Vandals moreover had a great affinity to that of the Slavonian Bohemians.

The government of Saxony could not be indifferent to the constant arrival of the exiles, and though an increase of the population was then thought very desirable, there were, nevertheless, some objections to it. But as early as January, 1623, Adolph Gersdorf, governor of Upper Lusatia, issued an order for the friendly reception of the emigrants, which was publicly read from all the pulpits. The following rescript was afterwards addressed by the Elector to the high-bailiff of Budissin : " We are petitioned by certain tradesmen of Reichenberg, and the adjacent places, for protection and permission to

settle in our territories. Unwilling to refuse their petition, provided that they leave their country on account of religion only, and not in consequence of misdemeanour, (to which great regard must be paid :) we authorise you to allow them and others, who may desire the same, to settle in the town of Zittau, or in any other town of our electorate of Upper Lusatia. The settlements, however, must not take place too near the frontier, nor be in too large a number at one place: the immigrants must of course be subject to the laws of the country. You will therefore give the necessary orders to the sub-authorities." In a notice of the 22nd of June, 1652, the high-bailiff, Count Callenberg, says:—"It is the will of our sovereign that, in the reception of exiles, the authorities of Zittau should proceed with equity and kindness, and not according to the strictness of the town-laws. Having lost all their property by their *faithful confession, and for the sake of their religion*, these poor people are not to be subjected to needless difficulties."

Owing to its geographical position in relation to Bohemia, the town of Zittau was best adapted as a place of refuge for the poor exiles, and hither they came in great numbers. Here they wished to wait for a change of circumstances which might recall them to their beloved fatherland.

The exiles that came first were received in the most friendly manner, because they had evinced the greatest firmness, and sustained the greatest losses; they were, moreover, of the higher classes, and were not wholly destitute of means, and those who sheltered them were then not so poor as they afterwards became in the thirty years war.

The inhabitants of this town were especially affected by the cheerfulness with which the Bohemians flocked to the altars, to satisfy their longing for the proper celebration of the holy communion. Thus there were on one Sunday in 1628, six hundred and thirty-eight communicants assembled in the principal church of Zittau, even in the presence of many Catholic soldiers; on another occasion, on the 10th Sunday after Trinity, the number of communicants amounted to three hundred and six.

The exiles that came to Zittau were chiefly from the adjacent districts of Bunzlau, Leitmeritz, Königgrätz, and from the old-town of Prague. The soldiers employed by the Governor Lichtenstein, in order to force the people to obedience, pursued the fugitive Protestants even within the boundaries of Zittau. In 1629, the inhabitants expected an attack from these troops; and the Elector of Saxony ordered them to close and guard the gates, to provide themselves with ammunition, and be prepared to repel the incursion. That the fugitive Protestants were thus far pursued, is evident from an exile having been found, on the 28th of June, lying dead, with his tongue cut out, in the suburb of Zittau. When the persecution was renewed in 1651, for reasons already mentioned, and new emigrations consequently took place into Lusatia, the soldiers were stationed to guard all the roads; and if an exile was seized, he was chained and cast into prison.

It must not, however, be supposed that the exiles were all Sclavonian Bohemians, and strangers to the German language; no, many of them were descended from German families, which had settled

in the districts of Bunzlau, Saaz, Budweis, and Ellenbogen, some of whom could not understand the Bohemian language at all, and therefore joined at once in the public worship of Zittau.

Among the exiles who came into the neighbourhood of this town, there were also many Calvinists, who were at that time feared and hated by the Lutherans; and as "the 'Reformed' Protestants could neither expect to obtain a legal exercise of their religion, nor to be incorporated with the Lutheran community," this circumstance formed a source of great anxiety to the clergy of Zittau. As the doctrines of Calvin could have been more imperceptibly and more easily introduced than those of the Roman church, the clergymen of the place considered it needful to act the part of the strictest and most vigilant zealots. They were, therefore, very glad when Dr. Matthias Borbonius,* who was one of the 'Reformed,' left Zittau, with many others of the same persuasion, and went to the town of Thorn. The expelled pastor Cruppius, who, though not properly appointed as minister, was assisted and beloved in Zittau, was forced to undergo a strict examination on his Lutheran creed, before he could be permitted to preach to the exiles in the Bohemian language; and the Rev. John Thaddäus, who quietly pursued his literary avocations in Zittau for twenty-two years,† and who was also in the habit of taking the holy sacrament with the Lutherans, was nevertheless suspected of being a secret Calvinist; at his death, in 1652, he was

* See Vol. i. page 437.

† His *Conciliatorum Biblicum*, printed in 1648 at Breda, was dedicated to the town-council of Zittau.

therefore only allowed to be interred privately, at night, in the cross-walk of the cloister. In Görlitz, also, they were so fanatical, as, in 1692, to persecute the widow of a clergyman, because he was suspected of having been a Calvinist.

But those who were acknowledged as true Lutherans, were treated by their fellow ministers of the Gospel, with friendship and benevolence. Hence the Archdeacon Winziger is styled, in a poem by one of the outcast clergy, "the sweet anchor of the exiles." The town clergy were also assisted by the exiles in their parochial duties, whenever these increased to a more than ordinary degree.

From want of room in the town itself, the exiles, who were desirous of building houses, were directed to a certain piece of pasture land which was no longer used as such; and in this place arose a new range of buildings, being an enlargement of the southern suburb, on the east side of the river Neisse. Useless marshes were thus converted into beautiful gardens, and the eastern part of the so-called Bohemian suburb was called into existence. The neglected pasture land has, therefore, during nearly two centuries, been occupied by pleasant houses and orchards, which are, however, no longer solely in possession of the descendants of the exiles. Their trade was chiefly in cattle and poultry, and their language well qualified them for journeys into Sclavonia, whence these were procured.

As many of the Bohemians were at first unacquainted with the German language, it became requisite to establish a separate divine service for them. The difficulty in effecting this was by no means through lack of Bohemian ministers, for there were

numbers of them in the town ; but the difficulty lay in procuring the consent of the clergy of Zittau, who entertained a great dread of the Calvinistic doctrines. The exiles were therefore obliged to petition a long time, before they were permitted to have a distinct service. The exiled minister, Galli, had already since 1627, preached sermons and given instruction to the children in their native language, in his own house ; and from about the year 1652, after the arrival of numerous exiles from the domain of Friedland, this was done in a private saloon, where the above named Cruppius conducted their services. Some were really fond of such concealment, having been accustomed to secrecy from the period of the Bohemian troubles of 1622. Thus they became willing hearers of Cruppius, for their chief desire to listen to the true word of God, in the Bohemian language, and without persecution, was then fulfilled. But whilst some were pleased with their secret worship, others were desirous of being permitted to hold divine service in the church of St. Peter and Paul, which was embellished with a beautiful altar, by the exiled Countess Hohenlohe, or in one of the three churches which were unoccupied every Sunday morning. Yet it was no easy task to obtain the use of a church ; for the native clergy rather desired a union of the exiles with their own communities, or for a removal of the obstinate Bohemians to Dresden or Neusalz. Unauthorised meetings or conventicles of the Bohemians, for the propagation of dissenting principles, were prevented by force.

A more urgent request for a separate church was made in 1654, when Cruppius was occasionally permitted to preach in the parish church ; but it was

in vain. So were also their appeals of 1664 and 1665, when they represented the saloon as really too small, too dark, and too dilapidated. Of the appeal of 1668, when, after the demise of Cruppius, permission was sought for Paul Matthiades to deliver his sermons in the private saloon, the magistrates thought there would soon be no necessity for it, but the Elector granted their request. The exiles were indefatigable in their petitions, and at last, in 1669, they obtained permission to sing Bohemian hymns during their communion services in the church of St. Peter and Paul. In 1670 they petitioned four times for the partial use of a church, where John Milesius might at least deliver his sermons. But the council and clergy thought their requests needless and impracticable. In 1672 their petition was also rejected by the reigning Prince, and in 1674 the town-council expressly declared, that the formation of a separate community was not a matter of real necessity.

At length, in 1690, the exiles obtained their repeatedly expressed desires. The former refectory of the abolished Franciscan cloister was given them, and put into repair, by means of the benevolent contributions of several citizens. The sacraments, however, continued to be administered in the church of St. Peter and Paul, until the year 1801. The church of the exiles became gradually embellished, and a greater zeal was evinced in church affairs; they established a Sunday-afternoon, and a week-day service, and in 1803 the last pastor, Borott, preached occasionally, even in German, to exile and other hearers. At his demise, in 1832, the Bohemian sermons were discontinued, and were only

read to the community for a short time after by the schoolmaster, who continued also to use the Hymn-book of J. G. Müller, to which were prefixed the poems of Franz Rühr (in 1734 minister to the exiles at Dresden), Christian Peschek, G. Dolansky, and Daniel Stransky.

Numerous exiles came also to Grosshennersdorf, situated between Zittau and Herrnhut, at first only in five or seven families, until their number gradually increased; they belonged to the "Bohemian Brethren." Of these we must give a more detailed description: first, because they formed a separate community; and secondly, because from hence afterwards took place the great migration to Berlin. The following is a brief sketch of the course of those events:—When the Emperor Joseph I. had granted Silesia some degree of religious freedom, several Bohemians settled in the province, but were afterwards on account of their religion not tolerated. Then Schwedler, the zealous pastor of Niederwiese, taking an interest in their behalf, prevailed on Lady Henrietta Sophia, baroness Gersdorf, to grant them a settlement on her domain of Grosshennersdorf. This was not during the first period of the emigration, but in the period of 1724, when it was no longer an easy matter for the refugees of Bohemia to gain admittance into Saxony. Notwithstanding this, the number of the Hennersdorf exiles gradually increased to nearly five hundred.

These exiles belonged neither to the Lutherans nor the 'Reformed,' but, as we have already said, to the suppressed and yet secretly maintained sect of the "Bohemian Brethren,"* and consequently were

* See Vol. i. pages 33, 99, &c.

accustomed to the simplest forms of divine worship; they could not, therefore, but be dissatisfied with the forms of the Lutheran church at Grosshennersdorf. According to their established principles, they objected to all kinds of images (in conformity with Exodus xx. 4.), and were even offended at the sight of a carved angel in one of the churches of Zittau. They also had an aversion to crucifixes; so that it was really no wonder the Romanists looked upon their objection to that symbol as a contempt of Christ himself, and would, therefore, not acknowledge the "Brethren" as fellow-christians. The white surplices of the clergy, then univérally used in Upper Lusatia, and also the white wafers distributed in the Lord's supper, they regarded as Popish ceremonies. They were also immoveable in their objections to these wafers being placed in the mouth of the communicant by the hand of the minister, to making the sign of the cross, to using forms of exorcism, to burning wax tapers during the communion-service, and were greatly discontented, that it was not customary with the Lutherans to break the bread at the Lord's supper. Hence arose constant disputes. They also were desirous of having a divine service, after their peculiar manner, conducted by a minister of their own:—but objections were raised in Saxony against this.

In consideration, however, of their inability to understand the German language, their urgent request was at last granted by a Government order, dated July the 10th, 1726, which permitted them to appoint their own clergyman with the title of Lecturer. The first was John Liberda, previously elected on the 9th of October, 1725. He was a

native of Upper Silesia, only twenty-five years old, a man of great zeal, and almost too great activity. Being familiar with the Polish language, he soon acquired the Bohemian, became a favourite preacher, and gradually increased the number of his hearers to seven hundred. This occasioned in Zittau much contention. For several exiles there, deeming the "Brethren" to be the true Christians, thought lightly of the Bohemian-Lutheran worship, as conducted by the exiled pastors, Jary and Waditschka, and attended the services at Grosshennersdorf. The former did not possess Liberda's vivacity, and the latter was too vehement in his sermons against those who differed from him in doctrine.

The disturbances in the Zittau community of exiles, were principally occasioned by a certain Martin Kopezky. There is yet extant a Bohemian poem of his, of no less than two hundred stanzas,* wherein he laments over the persecutions of Zittau. This man was from Wessely, near Königingrätz, and was originally a schoolmaster; he had early imbibed an aversion to the Romish doctrines, and occasionally partaken of the communion from the Bohemian pastor, Simonides of Zittau, though he was subjected to various annoyances at home, on account of his secret faith. At last he was sentenced to pay a fine, and be imprisoned, and the Evangelical books found in his possession were burnt by the Jesuits. In 1725, resolving to leave his home and his country, he went, during the night, with his wife and children to Zittau, and afterwards united himself with the exiles of Grosshennersdorf.

* A German translation of this poem has been printed in the Weimar Act. hist. eccles. (1761) xvii. 714, &c.

Many other exiles of Zittau would gladly have joined them, but there was no accommodation in the small village; so that the order of the Zittau town-council, that those who preferred the worship of Grosshennersdorf, should remove thither, could not be enforced. During the great popularity of Liberda, many must have arrived at Grosshennersdorf on Sundays, even before sunrise, for according to an order of September 29, 1727, the Bohemian service was performed at an early hour. These Bohemians founded that part of the village called Schönbrunn, situated near a mountain behind Grosshennersdorf. In this they were encouraged by the owner of the domain, who had, at the same time, permitted the Moravian Brethren,* to form a colony at Herrnhut. Political circumstances, however, produced a rupture between the proprietor and the settlers at Schönbrunn. They were especially disobedient to the law which prohibited all further admissions of discontented Bohemians, and all private meetings for prayer and the reading of scripture. The eighteen who protested against this were expelled, and their endeavours to join those at Herrnhut, or to go to Bairuth, proved unsuccessful. The exiles at Schönbrunn desired for their church full power to elect their own preachers, hold their own courts of justice, and have their own establishments for the poor. The superintendent Steinmetz, and the rector Sarganek, then advised their removal to Neustadt on the Aisch, in the province of Brandenburg, and Liberda proposed an emigration to Berlin. A few of them

* Settlement of the Moravian Brethren in Saxony. Hammerdörfer's introduction to a knowledge of Saxony, i. 77—86.

remained at Grosshennersdorf, where their descendants are still recognized under their Bohemian names. The houses in Schönbrunn, however, came into possession of other people.

At the end of the first quarter of the 18th century, a few descendants of the almost wholly suppressed community of the Moravian "Brethren," came into the neighbourhood of Grosshennersdorf, and occasioned the foundation of the now flourishing Herrnhut, the present far-famed principal seat of the transplanted "Unity of the Brethren."*

In the Moravian village of Schlen, which was under the dominion of the Jesuits, there lived at that time a family named Neisser, who had in infancy, been secretly instructed in Biblical christianity, by their father, and who had received his last injunction, never again to depart from the acknowledged truth. They received further spiritual instruction from the brethren Nitschmann and others of Zauchenthal, and became acquainted with a travelling Lutheran, and through him with the celebrated divine Steinmetz, who was minister of the church of Grace at Teschen. They also made acquaintance with Christian David, a carpenter

* See Frohberger's letters on Herrnhut, p. 140. Crantz's History of the Brethren; the works of Lynar and others: especially, "The Memorial Days of the Ancient Brethren," Gnadau, 1821, which contains an historical account of the Life and Martyrdom of Huss, and of the first beginning of the ancient church of the Brethren; a sketch of the church regulations and church discipline of the ancient Brethren in Bohemia, also Comenius's "Exhortation to the faithful remnant of the dispersed Bohemian Brethren;" with an account of the foundation of Herrnhut, &c., translated into English in 1822, and published under the title "An Account of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren."

who afterwards acquired great celebrity, and is still remembered with reverence and gratitude, as the founder of Herrnhut. To obtain a knowledge of the truth, this individual had early left Moravia, and gone to Berlin, where he joined the Evangelical church, and after enjoying the further instructions of Schwedler and Schäfer in Lusatia, he returned to his native land. Here the brethren Neisser had much intercourse with him, and sought his aid in gaining a subsistence in an Evangelical country. In 1722, David brought them the pleasing news, that Nicholas Louis Count Zinzendorf would receive them on his domain. Two of the Neissers then went to Grosshennersdorf, saw the Count and his grandmother, the highly accomplished Countess Gersdorf, by whom both they and David were directed to her grandson's estate of Berthelsdorf, where the steward gave them some building ground near the Hutberg, on the road from Zittau to Löbau. The first tree for this colony was felled on the 17th of June, 1722, near the Hutberg, where a beautiful monument was erected in 1822. The carpenter, Christian David, became the original settler in the place, which was called Herrnhut, in allusion to the protection of the Lord and the vicinity of the Hutberg.

The brethren Neisser, who had remained at home, and been imprisoned by the Jesuits, followed in 1723. By degrees several others came from Zauchenthal, who knew something of the church regulations of their ancestors, the old Moravian Brethren. The Neissers at first had contemplated an emigration to Lissa, but having come on a visit to their countryman, Christian David, they were

induced to remain at Herrnhut, and to assist in establishing the regulations of their ancient church. In 1732, the number of these Brethren had increased to six hundred individuals. Some Bohemian Brethren also came, who settled in Grosshennersdorf, but removed afterwards to Berlin.

In 1732, a Saxon commission investigated the affairs of Herrnhut, and granted the resigned and obedient people a protection, which was confirmed by a decree, dated 20th September, 1749. New comers were, however, not to be received, it being contrary to the will of the Bohemian authorities; this led to the idea of establishing colonies in other parts.

In order to form some fixed rules of government for this settlement of Moravian Brethren, they elected a number of Elders, and nominated as Presidents, Count Zinzendorf and Baron de Watteville. Their principal object was to realize the venerable regulations of the ancient Brethren, which were formed on the model of those of the first Christians.

To obtain a knowledge of these regulations, Zinzendorf requested, and obtained from the town-library of Zittau, Comenius's work on the Brethren. The Count was struck with the lamentation of Comenius over the decay of the Brethren's congregations, and with his prayer for a revival of their ancient spirit; and he felt himself called upon to become the instrument of Providence, in the renewal of that venerable community. A Bishop of the Polish branch of the Brethren, the venerable Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, was yet alive and court-chaplain in Berlin. With the assistance of the Senior, Sitkow of Lissa, he ordained, in 1735, David Nitschmann of Herrnhut,

as Bishop and Senior of the Brethren's congregation ; in the same manner, and after the necessary examinations, he ordained, in 1737, Count Zinzendorf himself. In the course of time, the Brethren were considered as members of the Augsburg confession, and permitted to reside in other places also. The Saxon protection was granted on September 20th, 1749, and the Prussian, on the 25th of December, 1742. To this very day, the regulations of the renewed Brethren, are both *praised* and *blamed*. But Herrnhut itself has become a place of celebrity, where the Elders direct and regulate much that takes place in the remotest corners of the world.

There are some places which have been built by Brethren, and are entirely inhabited by them ; such are Herrnhut, Gnadenfrey, Fulnek, Bethlehem, Salem, Sarepta, &c. ; others, of which the Brethren occupy but a part, as Neusalz, Neuwied, Zeyst ; there are others again in which the Brethren live dispersed, as at London, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, but still they have a meeting-house of their own. These circumstances shew how wonderfully the providence of God has overruled the Bohemian persecution for good, and the great blessings wherewith the faithfulness of the old " Bohemian Brethren " has been crowned for succeeding generations. To make these great and wonderful results the more evident, we give the following general list of the present congregations of the Brethren :—

1. In Germany: Herrnhut, founded by Moravian exiles ; Niesky, established by emigrants from Bohemia ; Kleinwelke, near Budissin, specially formed as a meeting-place for the Vandals ; Gnadau, in the

duchy of Barby, near Magdeburg; Gnadenberg, near Bunzlau; Gnadenfrey, in the principality of Sweidniz; Neusalz on the Oder; Gnadenfeld, near Kosel; Berlin, and Rixdorf. In Potsdam and Königsberg where are privileged meeting-houses. Neuwied on the Rhine, established by the French 'Reformed' Brethren; Neudietendorf, near Gotha; Ebersdorf; Königsfeld; Norden, in East Friesland. The general board of management is in Berthelsdorf, near Herrnhut; the school for teachers is at Niesky; the establishment for the sale of books is in Gnadau, and the theological seminary is at Gnadenfeld.

2. In Denmark: Christiansfeld, near Handersleben; in Copenhagen and Altona are meeting-houses; and in 1810, a church was erected in the last-named place.

3. In Sweden: meetings at Stockholm, Gottenburg, Carlskrona, and Uddewalla.

4. In the Netherlands: Zeyst, near Utrecht.

5. In the British Empire: London; Fulneck, Pudsey, &c., in Yorkshire; Fairfield, near Manchester; Ockbrook in Derbyshire; Bedford; Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire; Bristol, with a branch congregation at Kingswood; Bath; Malmesbury and Titherton, in Wiltshire; Haverfordwest, in South Wales; Devonport; Leominster, in Herefordshire;* and Ayr, in Scotland. In Ireland: Dublin, Gracehill, Gracefield, Cootehill, and Ballinderry.

6. In the Russian Empire:† Sarepta, in the

* Besides the above, several other congregations have lately been formed in the British empire.

† The splendid copy of the Ukase, containing the permission of Catherine II., is yet to be seen in the Archives of Herrnhut; as well as the signature of Frederic II., in a similar document.

department of Saratow, belonging to Asia; in Petersburg and Moscow the Brethren have some meeting-houses; in Livonia several small colonies, particularly at Neuwelka.

7. The United States of America. They have Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, and a branch congregation at Emmaus; Nazareth, with a branch at Schönek; and Lititz,* with a branch at Bethel. Other congregations of the Brethren are formed in Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Yorktown. In the state of Ohio, the provincial congregation of Gnadenhüßen, Sharon, and Beersheba. In the state of New York, the town congregation of New York, and a provincial congregation in Staaten Island. In the state of Rhode Island, Newport; and in Maryland, a congregation at Graceham. In North Carolina, Salem, Bethabara, Bethany, Friedberg, and Friedland.

Most of these settlements were formed in the middle of the 18th century, and may be viewed as the fruit of the exceedingly numerous and bitter tears which persecution wrung from the eyes of the venerable Brethren, in their native country of Bohemia and Moravia. Thus has Divine Providence directed everything for the best—bringing to a good issue, for many nations of the earth, an attempt to crush that Church which had preserved Christianity in its greatest purity and simplicity.

But the formation of these congregations was not the only result of the persecution of the Brethren: it also led to their successful missions among the Heathen. The number of their stations will be seen by

* Besides scriptural names, they also selected such appellations as tended to remind them of Bohemia and Moravia.

the following statement published by the Mission-board, and referring to the commencement of the year 1845.

Greenland: begun in 1733.—New Herrnhut; Lichtenfels; Lichtenau; and Fredericksthal.

Labrador: begun in 1770.—Nain; Okkak; Hopedale; and Hebron.

North American Indians: begun in 1734.—Among the Delawares, New Fairfield in Upper Canada; Westfield, in Missouri. Among the Cherokees, in Arkansas, in the Prairies; and New Spring Place.

West Indies. The Danish Islands; begun in 1732.—In St. Thomas, New Herrnhut; Town of St. Thomas; Niesky. In St. Croix, Friedensthal; Friedensberg; Friedensfeld. In St. Jan, Bethany and Emmaus.

Jamaica: begun in 1754.—New-Eden; Irwin Hill; Fairfield; New Carmel; New-Fulneck; New-Bethlehem; New-Beaufort; Bethany; New-Hope; Nazareth; Lititz; and Bethabara.

Antigua: begun in 1756.—St. John's; Gracehill; Gracebay; Newfield; Cedar-Hall; Lebanon; and Gracefield.

St. Kitt's: begun in 1775.—Basseterre; Bethesda; and Bethel.

Barbadoes: begun in 1765.—Sharon; Mount-Tabor; Bridgetown; and Clifton-Hill.

Tobago: begun in 1790, (renewed 1827).—Montgomery, and Moriah.

Surinam: begun in 1735.—Paramaribo; Rusten-Werk; Charlottenburg; Bambey; and Salem on the Nickerie.

South Africa: begun in 1736, (renewed 1792).

—Genadendal ; Groenekloof ; Hemel-en Aarde ; Enon ; Elim ; Shiloh ; and Clarkson.

Comprising a total of 61 stations, supplied by 271 Missionaries, (including 7 missionary assistants), who have under their care 62,688 converts and persons under special instruction. Of these, 2953 are Greenlanders and Esquimaux, 404 North American Indians, 53,252 Negroes, and 6079 Hottentots, and other natives of South Africa.*

O, what glorious fruits are these of the persecution which raged against the Brethren in the imperial states !

It is an interesting fact that every member of the various congregations has a full knowledge of whatever takes place throughout the whole of the Unity—in the remotest settlements, and among the missionary stations. This arises from the circulation of “weekly leaves,” which are issued by the board of management at Berthelsdorf near Herrnhut.

For upwards of a century, an important and extensive work has also been carried on by the Church of the Brethren, in connection with other Protestant churches on the continent of Europe, which is generally known as the work of the *Diaspora*—the company of awakened or believing souls, *dispersed* among the great body of professing Christians. Of its character and object, a brief sketch may be found in the preface to the 17th volume of their Periodical Accounts.† It may be

* Besides the above-mentioned countries, the Brethren's Church sent Missionaries into the East Indies, the island of Ceylon, Persia, Egypt, Algiers, Guinea, Tartary and Lapland.

† Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren established among the Heathen : published by the Brethren's ‘Society for the furtherance of the Gospel.’

sufficient here to observe, that it is as old as the Brethren's Missionary work, and that through the grace and blessing of the Lord, it has probably been at least as fruitful. During a period of grievous spiritual declension, and wide-spreading doctrinal error, it was employed by the Great Head of the Church, as a good salt, the introduction of which into the mass of visible Christendom assisted to keep large portions from entire corruption, and, in some instances, to render them spiritually fertile. The spirit in which it was commenced, and has been hitherto conducted, is eminently catholic and unsectarian. It seeks not to make proselytes to any particular communion, but to be the means of awakening, converting, edifying, and preparing for usefulness, individuals belonging to the various churches, established or existing within the sphere of its operation. Nor has it altogether failed in the attainment of this object, as many a servant of Christ, employed both at home and abroad, in fellowship with the Brethren's Unity, or with other Churches and Societies is ready to testify. The portion of Europe which this work has gradually overspread is very considerable ; it is carried on, to a greater or less extent, throughout the whole of Protestant Germany, and in various districts of France, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Russian empire. The number of Stations occupied by the Brethren in these several countries, amounts to 56 ; of stationary or itinerant labourers of both sexes, to 107 ; and of persons in society-fellowship with them and with the Brethren's Unity, though still in communion with the Established Churches, to about 100,000 : not to mention

occasional hearers, and individuals periodically visited by the Brethren.*

A few particulars relative to the formation of the settlement at Niesky, (between Görlitz and Muskau) by a Bohemian branch of the ancient Brethren, are worthy of being recorded. When the well-known Christian David left Herrnhut, for Moravia, in 1725, with a view of visiting and strengthening those of his countrymen who had remained at home, he purposely passed through Bohemia, in order to see if a remnant of the Brethren was not still to be found in Lititz, which was their first seat. He discovered a number of them in certain villages of the domains of Landskron and Leitomischl. As they were then suffering from persecution, many emigrated to Grosshennersdorf and Gerlachsheim. From these places between eleven and twelve hundred

* See Holmes' History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren.—Spangenberg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine, as taught in the Protestant Church of the United Brethren; and his Life of Count Zinzendorf.—Klinesmith's Divine Providence, or Historical Records relative to the Moravian Church, from its first formation to the present time.—La Trobe's Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some Account of the Missionary Settlements.—Crantz's History of the Brethren.—Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren in the Caribbean Islands, (German) 1777.—Crantz's History of Greenland and the Brethren's Missions.—Jubilee of the Heathen Mission of the Brethren, (German) 1832.—Holmes' Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren, Dublin, 1818.—Rösler's Narratives from the History of the Church of the Brethren, (German) 1823.—Leskiel's History of the Mission among the North American Indians.—The "Memorial Days of the Renewed Church of the Brethren."—Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, preach the Gospel and carry on their Missions among the Heathen.

went, in 1739, to Berlin, and settled in that quarter of it which is now called Wilhelms-strasse. The greater part of them afterwards joined the Lutherans and 'Reformed' Protestants, whilst another party obtained, in 1744, a preacher from Herrnhut, though some of these had become enthusiasts, and separated from the Brethren. The remainder, who were desirous of a new place of residence, sought advice from the community of Herrnhut. In 1741 it was resolved that they should apply to the general conference of the Brethren in Marienborn, where the affairs of the congregations were regulated during Count Zinzendorf's absence in America. To this place they sent a deputation of three individuals, who were advised to form a separate settlement. The ground for that purpose was offered by two different gentlemen. The lord of Gersdorf offered them the place which now constitutes Niesky; the lord of Wiedebach offered another at Rietschen. The lot decided in favour of the former, and a brother from Herrnhut, named Raschke, who was conversant with the Bohemian language, and who had a knowledge of agriculture and architecture, superintended the formation of the new colony. But that which now forms the beautiful village of Niesky, was at the time a waste and barren tract of land. The first houses were occupied by forty-seven individuals, who gained but a scanty subsistence from the manufacture of bolting-cloth, and had occasionally some disputes among themselves. Meanwhile they performed their public worship in a barn. Several Bohemians left them again; but their community gained new life from a visit of Count Zinzendorf. In 1750 they received the protection of the Saxon government,

being recognized as members of the Augsburg confession, and then they gradually assumed the manners of the Germans. In 1751 the boys'-school of the Brethren was removed from Herrnhut to Niesky, and in 1789 the school for teachers, and the seminary. This also improved the condition of the working men. A commercial intercourse with other places was first established here by Daniel Dürninger, whose memory is still revered in Herrnhut; and the naturally barren soil was much improved and embellished by various plantations. At last the place was made independent of the parish of Hähnichen, to which the baronial estate of Trebus belonged. The latter had come into the possession of the family of Zinzendorf, and is now the property of the Brethren. By the establishment of several factories, and the arrival of new families, the place increased in population, and has at present about six hundred inhabitants. The name of this place was also given to another settlement of the Brethren in the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. Could such glorious results of persecution have been anticipated by the persecuted Comenius, Augusta, George Israel, and other distinguished men?

But we return to the reception of the Bohemian exiles. Of the Upper Lusatian towns, we have already mentioned that Budissin and Görlitz were ready to afford assistance to the distressed emigrants. The latter place was visited in 1652 by eighty-two Protestant families from the domain of Friedland; and its inhabitants frequently assisted, with provisions and other presents, those exiles who went from Grosshennersdorf to Berlin, Budissin, however, was not willingly chosen by them as a place of residence,

because there the Romanists exercised considerable power. But the Vandals, near Budissin, were eagerly sought out by the exiles who spoke the Bohemian tongue, on account of the great affinity between the two languages. Their connection with Budissin and Görlitz is also evident from the Bohemian books and manuscripts yet extant in these towns.

Gebhardsdorf became the place of refuge to many of the later exiles; and those who were unacquainted with the German language obtained the partial use of the church of this place for their divine service. This town was considerably enlarged by the increase of the Bohemian community; New and Upper Gebhardsdorf were chiefly built by the exiles. Several who had formerly emigrated to Silesia, as soon as they saw the probability of having a Bohemian preacher of their own, came also to this place. Such a preacher they obtained in 1676, in the person of Michael Lany of Zittau, an exile from Hungary. But his duties only extended to sermons, spiritual counsel, and visitations of the sick; baptisms, marriages, and burials were performed by the established minister of the place, as in Zittau. In 1690 Lany returned to Hungary, and was succeeded by Nicolas Künzel, who, being afterwards appointed in 1692 to a Bohemian congregation at Neusalz, was followed in 1694 by Thomas Richter, who remained here forty-three years, and often visited the exiles in the concealed valleys of Schreibershau in Silesia.

In his time there were many disputes, which we cannot pass over in silence, since they serve to

distinguish the later exiles from the "new Bohemians." In 1720, when an awakening had taken place among the secret Protestants of Bohemia, numerous persons left their country, and joined the Bohemian community in Gebhardsdorf, but at the same time formed themselves into a separate society. After some time they went to hear the zealous preacher Schwedler of Niederwiese, and John Liberda at Grosshenndorf, to Gerlachsheim, Berthelsdorf, and even to the newly established Herrnhut. They also held secret conventicles at night, and made all sorts of declamations. This occasioned a great sensation among the Germans and the elder Bohemians of Gebhardsdorf. On the 2nd of May, 1728, when formally taken to account, they replied, that the preachers of the above-named places were better adapted than the pastor of Gebhardsdorf, to "awaken" them; and as to the prohibition of their nightly meetings, they must obey God rather than man. They did not renounce their night meetings; therefore more stringent measures were adopted, in order to induce them to adhere to their proper pastor, and to abstain from attending the conventicles. As they refused to do either, the matter was brought before the chief court of Budissin. Friendly means were, however, once more tried before the law was put in force. At last twenty-one persons were arrested on a charge of attending a conventicle at night, and could only be liberated by the intervention of two German ministers. They then presented a remarkable and characteristic petition in the following words:—"After God had, in our own country, awakened our conscience, we came and joined in

the Bohemian divine service of Gebhardsdorf; but our conscience obtained neither rest nor certainty from the pastor of that community. When we learnt from other faithful Evangelical pastors that we wanted true repentance and the renewal of our hearts, we followed their advice, and turned from the former lukewarm service to a true and fervent form of worship, which our appointed pastor of Gebhardsdorf never did nor could give us: we therefore occasionally attended the divine service of those places where we found a fulfilment of our heart's desires."

Those who would in no way submit to the authorities, were ordered to sell their houses and remove. Twelve families, amounting to sixty individuals, then left the place. Those who remained promised to perform their private devotions at their pastor's only; but it is said that they soon became dissatisfied, for they rather wished to speak themselves. Their moral conduct was generally good, except that they despised others, and were not free from pharisaical pride. By the acquisition of the German language, and the return of some individuals to Bohemia, it was hoped that this community would be altogether dissolved. Nevertheless, they appointed in 1738 a new preacher, named George Petermann, but he was soon offended by the introduction of a new hymn-book, and therefore left the place; these Bohemians then had merely a Scripture reader, and kept their conventicles in the day time only. In 1791, however, the service in the Bohemian language ceased altogether.

Another small Bohemian colony was established

at Niederörtmannsdorf in the Queis district. This village belonged to the parish of Marklissa, and the then minister Arndt, as well as his successor Victze, could converse with the Bohemians in their vernacular tongue. With the death of the last named, they were deprived of that comfort; and in 1682 they obtained permission to build a meeting-house. Their baptisms, marriages, and burials, were, however, still to be performed in Marklissa; they took the sacrament in common with the parishioners; and spiritual counsel was given by means of an interpreter, though they were permitted to sing the Bohemian hymns. In consequence of the young people neglecting the Bohemian language, and attending the German preachers their service ceased altogether in 1779.

The places of refuge which Saxony afforded to the unhappy emigrants, were chiefly in the district of Misnia, where two congregations were formed at Dresden and Pirna, places easily accessible from Leitmeritz and Melnik by the river Elbe. The towns of Schandau and Neusalz, also gave shelter to many.

On the arrival of the exiles from the various countries of Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, and Silesia, the Elector George graciously took them under his protection, and afforded them both temporal and spiritual advantages; for he granted them the free exercise of their religion, permitted them to build a church at Pirna, and allowed them to print Bohemian books. In temporal affairs, they were privileged to carry on their various trades, and every one who wished it, could obtain citizenship.

The indigent among the clergy and laity, were also permitted, on producing special testimonials from the court of consistory, to collect alms at the church doors. His urgent intercession with the Emperor and King procured for some a restitution of their estates, and the necessary passports for a safe return to Bohemia. When the number of exiles at Dresden was considerably increased, they petitioned the Elector for leave to have divine service in the house of the minister, who was to be their preacher. This was granted, and thus it continued during ten years. But when the Westphalian peace of 1648 convinced the exiles that they had nothing more to hope for in Bohemia, they petitioned for the use of one of the churches, and St. John's, afterwards called the Bohemian church, was given them by the Elector.

Several families of the nobility—it may be said the flower of the Bohemian counts, barons, and noblemen, arrived at Pirna, in 1623, and were followed, in 1626, by large numbers of the citizens of Leitmeritz. They did not all, however, remain in Pirna and its vicinity; for in 1639, during the progress of the war many fled into the neighbouring town of Dresden. Others had previously left the place for Zittau. For in 1623, when Pirna was besieged by the Swedish troops, several families of the nobility applied to the council of Zittau for reception, and accompanied their petition with testimonials of moral conduct, from the authorities of Pirna. Of those who had taken refuge at Pirna, several are known by name to the present time. One of them was the highly respectable syndic of Leitmeritz, Paul Stransky, who went thence to

Leyden, and afterwards, like Dr. Borbonius, to Thorn, where he wrote his celebrated work on Bohemia.

. When General Strahlhaus was purposing to leave Pirna, on the 26th of July, 1639, with the view of returning to Lusatia and Bohemia, the exiles entertained a hope of obtaining their lost estates, and were consequently very eager to accompany him on his journey; their joy was as great as though they had been leaving an Egyptian bondage, and were entering a promised land. Collecting their valuables in great haste, 1500 individuals, young and old, were ready by four o'clock in the morning to follow the forces of the General across the river Elbe. About 250 persons, besides their pastor and those who were entrusted with their affairs, remained in Pirna. But those who accompanied the Swedes were ill-treated on the road, and plundered of all they possessed, by their supposed deliverers. After which, some of them went to Zittau, but the greater number were sheltered at Dresden.

Another place of refuge for the faithful exiles was also found in the Saxon part of Zinnwald, a mountainous district on the borders, between Teplitz and Bilin. In 1700, when none but Protestants were residing there, the number of the inhabitants amounted to upwards of 750; most of whom were descendants of Bohemian refugees. They had been richly blessed in the mining business, which they carried on, and some began to purchase fields, and build larger and more convenient houses. Great exertions were then made by the Popish reformers to force them to change their religion; for it was out of the power of a Romanist to imagine that such wealthy

people would leave their fields, their well-built houses, and other property, for the sake of the gospel; and to be the more certain of the poorer inhabitants also, the anti-reformation was postponed until after the harvest, and when the winter was nigh. But the representations of some great men put a stop to their proceedings. In 1728 the persecution recommenced, and the lords of Bilin, Teplitz, and Graupen, under whose authority these poor people were then living, formed a conspiracy for the purpose of extirpating the gospel from the place. They expelled Kunderbach, their faithful minister, and prohibited Rösler of Schellerhau from continuing the Protestant schools, on pain of imprisonment.

The inhabitants of Zinnwald were then forced by repeated threats to attend the sermons of the Jesuits; and the Protestant ministers of Fürstenau and Geising (to which last parish Zinnwald had hitherto belonged,) were threatened with the severest punishments in case they should be seen in the Bohemian Zinnwald. All the supplications of the oppressed people, all the representations of the Saxon Governor of Pirna, and of the said ministers, availed nought. In short, the whole of the inhabitants were obliged to emigrate and leave their property. They went cheerfully, and one of them, pressing the Bible to his bosom, exclaimed, "Let all be lost, since I have still a Bible left." Thanks be to God! not an individual of them was led astray to Popery, although every artifice was used for that purpose; but their constancy induced some Romanists of the neighbourhood to become members of the Evangelical church.

The exiles were nevertheless still employed in the

mines. Indeed, it seemed impossible to exclude the Protestant labourers entirely from the Bohemian mines, inasmuch as the greater number was at that time Protestant. These poor outcasts from Zinnwald, besides being providentially supplied with ready money, fourteen Bibles, twenty-seven hymn-books, &c. from a pious merchant of Neustadt, near Dresden; were also faithfully protected and assisted towards the building of new houses, by the highly respected mine-fitter, Tobias Otto of Altenberg, who had great influence with the Bohemian noblemen, and who made some powerful appeals in their behalf to the proper authorities. In the middle of July, 1729, orders were also issued from the mine office at Dresden, to the authorities of Freiberg, Altenberg, and Giesshübel, that these exiles should, above all others, be employed in the working of the mines.

A centenary festival in commemoration of the settlement of Georgenfeld, which was founded by these poorexiles of Zinnwald, was celebrated in 1827; for which Mr. Kretschmar, the rector of Geising, had prepared the minds of the people by an historical account of that event, of which the following is an extract. After referring to the expulsion of the ministers, and the unvarying firmness of the people in the midst of persecution and suffering—he continues: “But their shepherds did not forsake them, for they were no hirelings. Frequently might a noble figure in a miner’s dress, be seen walking from the valley of Geising, through the hollows of the forest, towards the entrance of the mines, and after a friendly salutation descending with the miners. Like a good genius the faithful shepherd, the minister of Geising, suddenly stood in the

midst of his flock. Here, in these mysterious solemn halls of mother earth—here, in this subterraneous cathedral, where the Almighty had himself raised an altar—here, where a cordial address of the faithful shepherd gave consolation, encouragement, and hope—here were the vows of faithfulness once more repeated by the persecuted people.

“Meanwhile the trying decisive moment had approached in a fearful form. The believing souls, eight hundred in number, then forsook their all, and proceeded to the adjoining parts of Saxony. Here they built a village and called it New-Georgenfeld, and they gave the name Gottgetreu to the settlement of the others in the Saxon portion of Zinnwald. By an influx of charitable contributions, and the assistance of the reigning Prince, and the lord of the manor, Mr. de Büнау; with a pious activity, and above all, with the blessing of their heavenly Father, these poor outcasts were soon placed again in the enjoyment of a new house and home. After a solemn procession to the church of Geising, they knelt before the altar, and renewed their oath of allegiance to the Lord.”

This memorable event, which became a centennial one in 1827, was most solemnly celebrated on the 31st of October, in Dippoldswalde, under the management of Mr. Justice Lehmann, and in Geising by that of the Rev. Mr. Gärtner. The double festivity was announced in Geising, with the first dawn of day, by the pealing of the bells, and the firing of several cannon. The whole town was in a lively commotion, for every one felt eager to meet the grand and great-grandchildren of their believing forefathers, in order to join them, as their ancestors

did one hundred years ago, in a procession to the temple. With dignified order the inhabitants of New and Old Geising, together with their children, the schoolmasters, the ministers of both congregations, and more than one hundred and fifty young women dressed in white, moved from Geising in procession to the meeting of the two communities of Georgenfeld and Zinnwald. The sounds of a distant choir soon announced the approach of the expected parties, who were hailed with loud tones of jubilee by the musical bands of those who had gone forth to meet them; and the procession to the church was now so increased as to exceed a thousand individuals. After the hymn, "A strong fortress is our God," the Rev. Mr. Gärtner delivered a sermon on Eph. iv. 1—6, in which he exhorted the audience to unity and love. Several Romanists were also present on the occasion, and some monuments were on that day erected in memory of their pious ancestors.

Lauenstein was also a place of refuge to some exiles, such as the family of Neumann from Teplitz. A son of theirs who was born in 1634, died in 1700, as minister of Fürstenwalde. The little town of Spandau, on the river Elbe, and not far from the Bohemian town of Tetschen, became also the place of refuge, in 1622, to several of the outcast clergymen, who were banished from Bohemia. Some traces of the events of that period are yet preserved in the accounts of Spandau.

In the parish book of Reinhardsdorf, we find the following entry:—"In 1627, the Bohemians from Hirnschretschem, being persecuted at home, came hither to divine service, and a new chapel was constructed for their accommodation." The chapel is

said to have been behind the altar. The church of this parish was also attended in the second half of the 17th century, by some of the Bohemians, who partly settled in that town.

The little town of Neusalz, Misnia, which is close on the border of Upper Lusatia, owes its origin chiefly to German exiles, and Bohemian and Hungarian emigrants. At first, the Bohemian worship had to be celebrated in a private house. Afterwards, they were enabled, by contributions from Saxony, Sweden, Lübeck, and Bremen, to build a church, which was consecrated on the 4th of February, 1679. The first minister, Stephen Pilarik, was a native of Hungary.

In 1701, the Bohemian sermons at Neusalz, were delivered by the celebrated mathematician, Christian Peschek, a great-grandchild of Christoph Peschek, whose sufferings and death have been mentioned before. But as in Zittau, Pirna, Dresden, and Berlin, so also in Neusalz, the time at last came when Bohemian sermons were no longer requisite. The parishes of Neusalz and Sprengel, (in which last place those who understood German attended divine service,) were united in the year 1700.

Further, we learn from the "Book of Persecutions," that the inhabitants of Misnia were great gainers by the arrival of the exiles, (for they were at first visited by the rich,) but that they had afterwards often left them unassisted in their distress. Many outcasts also found refuge in the mineral districts of Saxony, near the frontier town of Saaz; but they formed no Bohemian communities, probably because the inhabitants of Saaz were German, and such exiles easily mixed with the rest of the popu-

lation. In the period from 1624 to 1650, many came and settled in the upper and colder part of the mountains.

The town of Annaberg has already been mentioned as the place of refuge of the cruelly persecuted Wisozky,* and as superintendent of this district, we here also find John Hofstetter, the exiled superintendent of Eger.

The history of the town of Schneeberg affords us also some information concerning the exiles:—“Christopher Schind was a native of this place; he studied at Altdorf, Leipzig, and Prague, and was there assisted by the Lutheran preacher, Helwig Garth. Like the latter, he here frequently held disputations with the Jesuits and the Capuchin monks. He studied for the bar, and practised as barrister before the counsellors of Prague, and in the court of appeal. He became the attorney of the town of Aussig, whose affairs he submitted to the states-general, and directors, and succeeded in obtaining for this town a free exercise of religion, a Protestant town-council, and the restitution of the parish church. But Garth persuaded him, notwithstanding unpleasant circumstances, to become a minister of the gospel, and hence he studied theology in the library of this learned man. He was afterwards the sixth colleague at the Evangelical school of Salvator church, but in 1620 became deacon of Aussig, at the same time declining a call from Kadan. However, in March, 1621, the imperial commissioners came to Aussig, and he was forced, with hundreds of others, to emigrate. On the 21st of June he was an eye-witness of the

* See page 198.

great carnage in Prague, and then he went to his native town of Schneeberg, where he occasionally ascended the pulpit. In 1624 he became deacon of Frauenstein, at the recommendation of the chief court-chaplain, Dr. Hoe. In 1625 he was minister of Clausnitz, and finally succeeded his father-in-law in the ministry of Schneeberg. In 1646 he declined the office of superintendent of Weida. In Clausnitz he had much to suffer. The soldiers, who literally cut his neighbour minister, George Franke of Kleinwaltersdorf to pieces, and threw them to the dogs, arrested him when performing a baptism, and dragged him to Bohemia, where he only obtained his liberation by payment of a heavy sum of money.

We also learn from the chronicles of Schneeberg, that in the year 1600 many exiles came to this town from Steyermark, Kärnthen, and Krain. Of those who arrived from Joachimsthal we ought particularly to mention Conrad Hütter. In 1629 he was obliged, on account of his religion, to flee with his wife and children; being the first resolute emigrant, and deaf to all the offers of the enemy. He proceeded to Schneeberg, and there sought an appointment, but afterwards established himself at Geier. His sentiments may be gathered from the following verse, which he wrote in his Prayer-book:—"I entreat thee, O Lord, suffer me not to waver! Let me always adhere to thy divine, pure word, which I now believe; enable me to call myself thy servant, that I may remain constant to the end of my days."

The town of Freiberg was also a refuge for

many exiles. Here Paul Skala of Horze wrote, in the Bohemian language, the second part of a Bohemian Church History, the first having been prepared by him at Lübeck. Ten large folio volumes of this church-historical work are in Count Wallenstein's library at Dux in Bohemia; and as they speak of contemporaneous events, they would have afforded excellent matter for this work, could they have been consulted. An historical Bohemian manuscript in the school library of Freiberg, treating on the period of the Emperor Sigismund, and on Ziska, the leader of the Hussites, is probably a part of Skala's work. Mollér, in his work on Freiberg, while speaking of the events of 1625, makes the following remarks on the immigration of exiles:—“Owing to severe persecutions which the Protestants suffered in Bohemia and other Austrian territories, a large number of them, together with their families, left the country; several of these emigrants came to Freiberg, where they established themselves permanently by purchasing their freedom.” Some of their names are doubtless yet to be found in the registers of deaths at Freiberg. In the district of this town, a new village, called Deutschneudorf was established by the exiles. In 1696, they were permitted to build a church, but owing to their poverty, this was not completed until 1734. It is a branch church of Neuhausen. The little village was called *Deutsch*-neudorf, in order to distinguish it from *Böhmisch*-neudorf, which is situated opposite to Katharinenberg, near Rothenhaus, in the district of Saaz. The children of Deutschneudorf attend the school of Oberseifenbach.

The little village there, called Brüderwiete, was perhaps also established by some exiles, probably "Bohemian Brethren."

Lower Lusatia also proved a place of refuge to many an exile. Among others who came to Luckau, we would mention Albert Crantz, a relation of the celebrated historian of that name. He had been governor of the domain of Lischkowiz, but was forced to emigrate. Afterwards obtaining a commission in the army, under Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, he was at last appointed Castellan of Sorau, Triebel, and Naumburg. His son, John Crantz, compelled in 1654, during the Silesian anti-reformation, to emigrate from Thiemendorf, was appointed minister of Haugsdorf in Upper Lusatia.

Zwickau was another place where the exiles found refuge. Several Protestants came to this town during the persecutions which Ferdinand II. and the Jesuits had instituted in Steyermark, Kärnthen, and Krain in the year 1598. In May, 1603, several more arrived, of whom some obtained citizenship under rather mild conditions. Zwickau was also the residence of Dr. Paul Makasius, formerly physician at Eger, who had been forced to flee in 1628, and who, in 1635, sacrificed his house, his well-stocked laboratory, and all his other property. He soon, however, obtained great practice in Zwickau, and there lived until his death, which occurred in 1644. The minister of Lichtenstadt in Kärnthen, who had also been obliged to flee from his home, was his father. His wife had been so terrified by the threats of the commissioners, that she became seriously ill. In her funeral sermon the following

anecdote is related :—"Some Protestant ministers, representing to John Frederic, the Elector of Saxony, that the Emperor had prohibited them from entering his kingdom, he asked if they were also prohibited from entering the kingdom of heaven? On their answering in the negative, he said, ' Well, then, there is nothing to fear! be comforted! ' "

George Martius, the minister of Beiersdorf near Zwickau, was also an exile. He had been expelled from Klingenhart in 1628, and afterwards from Eger. On the conquest of the latter town by the Saxon troops, whom he had accompanied as chaplain, he delivered a thanksgiving sermon in the parish church. But the retaking of the town by the imperial general Holk, of course, obliged him to flee with his family. He was a native of Asch, where he found a home with the Protestant minister, J. Engelhardt, and there enjoyed the instruction of the eminent scholar Wolfgang Bodenschatz. After his ordination in Baireuth, he was, under various persecutions, the minister of Klingenhart from 1622 to 1628. For six years he led an unsettled life with his family, living as tutor and as organist at Brambach, then preacher at Eger. Returning again to Brambach, in 1633, he obtained the living of Beiersdorf near Zwickau. A son by his third wife became at last his curate for fifteen years, and he died in the 83rd year of his age, highly esteemed as a literary man, and for his ministerial labours, in which he was succeeded by his son, grandson, and great-grandson.

Jacob Scherzer, formerly syndic of Leitmeritz, was also among the learned fugitives at Eger. He

first suffered imprisonment, and was afterwards forced to flee. In 1629, after being severely questioned by the commissioners, he was imprisoned and threatened to be conveyed to Vienna. When at last they expelled him, he went with his family (among whom was his infant son, afterwards the celebrated divine, J. A. Scherzer,) into the district of Baireuth, where he died in 1666.

Johann-georgen Stadt, a town of the Saxon mineral mountains, was founded in 1654 by exiles, whom Ferdinand II. had expelled from Platten and Gottesgabe, two little towns which formerly belonged to the domain of Schwarzenberg. John George, Elector of Saxony, gave them the ground whereon to build the town, which they called by his name. Much activity was displayed in its erection by the exile Oelschlägel from Platten; who also was the first burgomaster of this little town, where his portrait is still to be seen. In 1654 several exiles arrived from Neudeck, Aberdam, and Bernigen in Bohemia. Among others Kilian Epperlein from Platten, whence he had been expelled in 1663, came to this place. During the persecution of the Protestant church he might have acquired riches and honour, if he would but have changed his religion. But he left Platten and his establishment, and, trusting in God, went to Johann-georgen Stadt. He was numbered among the exile founders of this town, of which he became a member of the council, and judge.

The town Jöhstadt was also the refuge of some outcasts. Daniel Nebentrost, minister of that place, in 1697, was son of George Nebentrost, minister of Platten, who was a native of Annaberg.

The latter was born there in 1577, and for two years, was the minister of Dobritzschei and Neschwitz. Three years he was an exile in Pressnitz and Annaberg; then he was for thirty-two years the minister of Jöhstadt, where he suffered much during the war, and in the plague he lost seven children in the short period of four weeks. He died in 1657, on the same day on which he had, fifty-eight years before, commenced his clerical duties in Bohemia, aged 80 years.

In Buchholz, near Annaberg, Albert Leutenbeck, an expelled pastor from Bohemia, in 1621, was appointed schoolmaster, but, in 1634, he became minister of the place.

The town of Altenberg, in 1622, became the refuge of several Protestants from Prague. Here Luther was burnt in effigy, in 1522, but soon afterwards the inhabitants embraced the Protestant faith. The exile John Roth, became deacon of the town in 1625.

Of Wiesenthal, it is stated, that a persecution on the borders in 1650, was so great, that every Protestant was forced to sacrifice all his property, and flee from Bohemia. During the thirty years war, these mountaineers used the hidden parts of the forests as churches, and the trees as their altars, in the same manner as was done in 1625, by the secret Protestants of Bohemia. One of the inhabitants of Wiesenthal, in 1626, was Michael Rohdörfer, an exile from Lubitz, who had in a wonderful manner escaped from the enemies of our religion, with his wife and seven children. Several exiled noblemen also were then residing at Wiesenthal; and a Countess of Hauenstien living at Annaberg, with a pious noble-

man from Bohemia supplied seven Saxon children at Weisenthal, with new clothes; a proof that the earlier refugees managed to take some of their property with them. One of the exiles was John Christoph Moyses, who had been town-clerk of Zchoppa, and had lived as a conscientious lawyer at Joachimsthal. When expelled from that place, with many others, in 1650, he took great pains by his writings and intercessions, to obtain from the Diet of Nürnberg, a free exercise of religion in the said town. He was extremely grieved for his country when all his endeavours proved unsuccessful, as may be seen from his various beautiful "*Carminibus*." He studied much, was often in prayer, and led a retired and pious life. The historian Lehmann refers to his "*Collectanea*," particularly the "*Tomus moralis de Exulibus*." Should this manuscript yet be discovered, it would afford abundant materials for a history of the anti-reformation.

Not being far from some districts of Bohemia, the Saxon Voigtland was also visited by exiles. In Klingenthal, especially, we find several musical-instrument makers, who are descendants of Bohemian outcasts. Some mountaineers also fled thither for refuge, and the emigrants succeeded at last, in 1648, in establishing a church. Christoph Dörffel, the superintendent of Oelsnitz in the Voigtland, was also an exile.

The town of Wittemberg itself was visited by many of the exiles, and there they met with great sympathy. Among the divines, was the above named John Hertwiz, who was expelled from Prague, with the rest of the clergy, in 1621. He

remained in Wittemberg ten years, until he was appointed preacher to the exiles, in Dresden. The frequently named Samuel Martini remained two years in 'Luthers-town,' where he received much kindness, but where he had also the misfortune to lose his wife, and was left with three children. His equally exiled father-in-law having taken the children under his care, he went as tutor, with four young Bohemian Barons, Kaplirz de Sulowitz, to Holland, France, and England, where he both gained considerable experience, and received great honour. He then returned to his family at Wittemberg, but was soon chosen by the congregation of exiles at Pirna, as their pastor; permission to hold public service, in the Bohemian language, having previously been granted by the Elector of Saxony.

George Holyk also went from Bohemia by the way of Zittau to Wittemberg. Here he gained the esteem of the most influential and most celebrated divines, Abraham Calovius and Samuel Benedict Carpzov.

Not a few of the banished preachers were called in Saxony to new and honourable posts; owing partly to their being natives of Saxony, and partly to their great oratorical talents, and deep erudition; sometimes, perhaps, also to christian sympathy.

During the thirty years war, several gained a subsistence as military chaplains, recommended probably by the Protestant Bohemian noblemen, who were serving as officers in the Swedish armies.

The Book of Persecutions expressly mentions the province of Brandenburg, in the Prussian territories, as a place of refuge for the exiles. But the Bohemian congregation at Berlin was formed

in the century after the reign of Ferdinand II. Those, therefore, who emigrated to that place, belonged entirely to the later exiles, the so-called "new Bohemians," already described when speaking of the exile congregation in Upper Lusatia. The Berlin community consisted of those exiles who had emigrated from Gerlachsheim, and also of those who were dissatisfied at Grosshennersdorf near Zittau, and at Zittau itself, whence two hundred and fifty individuals emigrated in 1732, because they objected to the Lutheran form of worship, to the use of the host, tapers, the crucifix, church-images, and the sign of the cross. Besides, there began to be a want of accommodation at Grosshennersdorf, and the preacher Liberda consoled them with the hope of another settlement. This Liberda went personally, with eight deputies, to King Frederic William, at Potsdam, from whom they received a friendly audience, and a promise to permit sedate and orderly people to settle in his kingdom; after he should have appealed in their behalf to the imperial court. This, his good will, was prematurely circulated in Bohemia, which led the people to hope that the King would send an army into that country, in order to add greater weight to his intercessions at the imperial court. Man willingly believes whatever he desires; they, therefore, ventured, in various parts of the country, to have a public Evangelical service; but the imperial soldiers soon dispersed or imprisoned these secret Protestants, and some, because they did not abjure their heresy, suffered nearly ten years imprisonment.

The exiles of Grosshennersdorf were the more hasty in departing, as, besides shelter and pro-

tection, they had also the promise of pecuniary aid. They were joined by some exiles of Zittau, whose departure was gladly witnessed by that town, on account of their Calvinistic principles. Like the Salzburg emigrants, their departure commenced with two waggons, and forty-eight wheel-barrows for their effects, and also for the children and the invalids, and it proceeded from Hennersdorf on the 10th of September, 1732. These emigrants were welcomed at Görlitz with presents and refreshments, and here they remained a week in order to procure the necessary passports from Dresden. The purport of which was, that as emigrants, who merely sought to improve their condition, they were permitted to proceed, that they should cross the border in detached parties, and that they would not be allowed to return again to Saxony. In Cottbus, also, the people would willingly have given them a friendly reception, but the commandant's report to the court produced an unfavourable answer, the King of Prussia having, since his first permission, been prejudiced against them; they were consequently refused admittance into his kingdom, and were obliged to wander about the borders during the cold and wet of the autumn and winter. The towns Drebkau and Calau, however, had compassion on them. Several of them returned to Saxony, and some were, nevertheless, permitted to enter Berlin, where they arrived singly, and in a destitute condition. They received alms and employment; and the King, whose attention had been drawn to their probity, also assisted them. Contemplating the enlargement of Berlin, he granted them some building materials, and ground in Williams-street, and even permitted

them to erect a place of worship, which they called the Bethlehem church, after the name of the celebrated Hussite chapel. This church was founded in 1735, and consecrated in 1737. Their arrival at Berlin was investigated by the court of Vienna; but they were permitted to remain. They were also assisted from distant quarters, and soon became tolerably comfortable; but they still felt, what they considered a heavy trial, the absence of their preacher Liberda.

On his return from the Berlin journey to Grosshennersdorf, he was made amenable to the law; for it was then a great crime to lead people out of the country; and the authorities of Grosshennersdorf were obliged to arrest him. He was tried in the courts of Budissin and Dresden; and as a heretic, and promoter of emigration, was sentenced to the Waldheim house of correction. In vain was the intercession of the Prussian ambassador, in vain every ingenious device for his liberation. He was kept close prisoner at Dresden, in the Königstein, and also at Waldheim itself. He escaped, however, to Berlin on the 13th of August, in company of the turnkey. The celebrated Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, who was a grandson of the well-known Komensky, or Comenius, had, in the meantime, been preacher to the colony at Berlin. In 1737 Liberda resumed this office, which he held until his death, which occurred in 1742, when on a journey to Saxony. The next preacher of this Bohemian community was Augustus Schulz. He also preached in the colony of Ricksdorf near Berlin, and at Nowaves, or Böhmissh-Neudorf, near Potsdam. But they were not permitted to have a divine

service quite according to their mode of thinking at Berlin, neither was there any want of controversies, on the breaking of the bread, &c.

About 1750 the Bohemian community at this town, consisted of one hundred and fifty families, or five hundred individuals. They had also a Bohemian Hymn-book, and a Bohemian New Testament was printed at Berlin in 1824. Some of them at last joined the Lutheran congregations, others became Herrnhuters. The much esteemed author, and German-Reformed Lutheran minister, J. G. Elsner, was their preacher in 1745, to whose exertions we owe an old German translation of the Book of Persecutions. Their preacher, at the beginning of this century, was Mr. Jänike, so much esteemed for his great zeal in the Missionary cause; at present they have the respected Mr. Gossner, a convert from the church of Rome.

The province of Silesia was also among the territories, where the exiles sought a place of refuge. At the time of the Bohemian anti-reformation, it was under the imperial dominion, and treated with great severity by the commissioners and their military assistants; yet there was a reasonable prospect of security in the duchy of Brieg, then under protection of its Duke John Christian.

In the middle of the 17th century some Bohemian exiles lived at Adelsdorf and Leyersdorf in the principality of Liegnitz. The last named place was the residence of the exiled minister Tiburius Sancti, and of the astronomer Adam Stransky. The next pastor of the exiles at Leyersdorf, among whom great dissension then prevailed, was Wenzel Tobiades. The orders of the authorities were, that the preacher

should be conversant in both the Bohemian and the German languages, that he should be a member of the Augsburg confession, and have passed an examination in the consistory court at Liegnitz. The exiles, also, were to acquire a knowledge of the German language. This Tobiades had been deacon of St. Nicolas in the Kleinsite of Prague, and died in 1671, sixty-six years after his ordination, in his 96th year.

That Protestants had more toleration in Silesia than in Bohemia, is evident from the fact, that Nicolas Smotlach, who had been accused at Predmerschitz, near Königingrätz, of being a secret Protestant, and of reading the scriptures, was, in consideration of his general good conduct, merely sentenced to sell his house, and remove to Silesia. In 1713 he went to Neudorf near Oels.

It is, however, well known, that there was little religious liberty for Protestants in Silesia, while this province was under the government of Austria, unless they enjoyed the special protection of some reigning Duke; that churches had to be built for them on the borders of Lusatia, and that permission to build a Protestant church at Hirschberg, could only be purchased with an immense sum of money.

Several exiles had preferred going to a greater distance, in a north-eastern direction, into the districts of Thorn, Dantzig, and Königsberg. The Book of Persecutions states, that God had raised them up some generous benefactors, and mentions especially Prince Christopher Radzivil. Near Thorn they obtained a place which had been destroyed by the Croatsians. To this place among others came the celebrated Dr. Borbonius, who

had been one of the emigrants at Zittau, but whose departure from that place was witnessed with much pleasure, because he entertained Calvinistic principles.* He was engaged as physician by the King of Poland; where he died at an advanced age,† in 1629. The celebrated historian Paul Stransky was another extraordinary man, who went to Thorn.

In 1732 the King of Prussia repeated his willingness to receive the persecuted Protestants; among the immigrants were some exiles of Salzburg, who were permitted to found Neusalzburg; and the state thereby gained just such an increase of population as it formerly obtained by the reception of the Huguenots, who were so cruelly persecuted in France.

In Nürnberg, the exiles found a very warm friend in the reverend Mr. Saubert, and the celebrated Valentin calls this town "the exiles' refuge, where they met with the noblest hospitality." The Jesuits have strongly declaimed against the reception of so many Austrian Protestants into the town of Nürnberg.

Fabian Nathus,‡ professor of Oriental languages, and one of the four Lutheran ministers expelled from Prague, lived at Braunschweig, and his colleague, Sigismund Scherez was superintendent of Lüneburg.

A great number of exiles, says the Book of Persecutions, was protected by the Duke of Culmbach and the Margrave of Baireuth. Even the Palatinate

* See page 369.

† It is very remarkable how frequently we hear of the great age to which the exiles attained. We have already noticed several instances.

‡ See pages 32, 33.

was visited by some, as for example pastor Dorffel, from Haida, who came with his family and his brother to Vohenstrauss, previously to his being appointed deacon, and then superintendent of Oelsnitz. A great many, doubtless, were moving about all over Germany, and lived on charity.

But some of the Bohemian Protestants fled for refuge, even beyond Germany, namely, into Switzerland, Holland, England, Denmark, Sweden, Transylvania, Poland, and Hungary.

Holland was particularly the refuge of the literati. In this country they held various conferences, and compiled the frequently named work "*De Persecutione Bohemica*." By means of correspondence they obtained many details from eye-witnesses, who were then living in Saxony, Poland, and Hungary. More particulars would have been given by them, if they had been permitted to meet again, as they did in 1632, which is the date of the preface. It was published in 1648, probably at Amsterdam. A very active part was taken in the editing of this book, by the celebrated John Amos Comenius and Adam Hartmann.* In conjunction with Cyrillus† the latter also wrote "*Ultimus in Protestantæ Bohemicæ confessionis ecclesias Antichristi furor*," which contains a description of many barbarities.

* Adam Hartmann, born on the second Sunday in Lent of the year 1589, was ordained in the synod of Liſſa in Poland, in 1643, 89th consenior of the Unity of the Brethren.

† John Cyrillus was senior of the consistory of Prague, when, in December, 1621, the first public edict was issued against the Protestant ministers of that city. Seized with apoplexy in the midst of his discourse to the congregation, he shortly after died on the 30th of May, 1632, at Liſſa, aged 63.

A copy of this work is now in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In England, we find the exile Samuel Martini in great honour.* The learned traveller, Simeon Partlik,† and several others, found refuge in this country;‡ and Wenceslaus Hollar,§ the celebrated engraver, gained a great reputation in England.

* See the remarkable diploma, dated London, May 21, 1626, in Schröter's work, 281—285. See also pages 57, 408. Martini was formerly assessor of the Bohemian Evangelical consistory, and afterwards pastor of the church of the exiles at Pirna, in Misnia. From a desire to bring the "Brethren" over to his party, he injudiciously published against them a work in the Bohemian language in 1635—another in 1636—another in 1638, and was threatening more, when he was interrupted by death in 1639. To two similarly printed refutations of his writings, the Brethren added a tract in the Bohemian language "on the Method of attaining Ecclesiastical Peace exhibited in the Scriptures."—*Regenvolscius*, pp. 233, 401.

† See page 357.

‡ The English government took notice of these Bohemian exiles in 1715, when an order was issued by the Privy Council for their relief.

§ Wenceslaus Hollar was born at Prague, in 1607, of an ancient family, and educated with a view to the profession of the law; but his dislike of that pursuit, and the persecution of the Protestants, by which his family was plundered of every thing at the taking of Prague in 1619, induced him to cultivate his talent for drawing; and having taken refuge at Frankfort, he became a pupil of Matthew Merian, with whose instruction he soon found himself able to dispense. After a long life of wandering and difficulties, notwithstanding the most exemplary application to his profession, such was the deplorable state of penury and distress to which he was reduced, that when he was on the verge of his 70th year, being attacked with his last illness, the bailiffs entered his apartment to seize the only piece of furniture that was left him—the bed on which he lay. He entreated their

King Gustavus Adolphus did not fail to invite the fugitive Bohemian Protestants to Sweden. Of those who took refuge there, we mention in particular, the frequently named George Holyk, and John Raik, who went to Upsala. The latter gave there oral and written instructions in medicine, the former wrote his book, "Bitter Tears of Bohemia," which has been translated into Swedish and Latin. Adam Pisezky, from Kranichfeld, a political writer, lived also in Sweden; and Wenzel Clemens, author of a Latin poem, "The Gustavide."

Denmark also did much for the poor exiles. Veit Jaksch, formerly minister of St. Gallus, in the Old-town of Prague, in a Latin work, published at Dresden, in 1643, says "the king of Denmark, (Christian V.) graciously for Christ's sake,* permitted the exiles, who were banished from their own country, to enter his kingdom, and seek Christian assistance. To every one who solicited his sympathy, he graciously sent relief from the royal treasury, and according to the example of the ancient churches, he caused collections for the exiles to be made in his kingdom annually." He caused, through Dr. Caspar Erasmus Brochmand, professor

forbearance only for a short time, as he should then have no further need of it, and earnestly requested that he might not be removed to any other prison than his grave. It is not known whether this mercy was granted him. He died on the 28th of March, 1677. Thus perished in England, this exile, whose work* will ever be dear to the intelligent and sympathizing artist; and in looking over his numerous and admirable productions with delight, the tear of pity will with difficulty be withheld for the sufferings of so talented a man.

* They always called themselves "Exules Christi."

and bishop of Copenhagen, considerable donations to be sent to Wittemberg, from himself and his generous subjects, to be distributed among the exiles there.

Of the exiles' flight to Poland, the Book of Persecutions states that "they found a protector in the illustrious Palatine of Belz or Belsk, Count Raphael of Lesno, Wladavia and Baranow, who gave a friendly reception and protection to upwards of 1000 exiles. The towns of Ostrorog and Skoki, under protection of the Countess of Ostrorog, and the noble Nicholas Ray de Naglowitz; the town of Kobryn, in the domain of Abraham Szeniuta, &c., as well as the royal Prussian town of Thorn, proved places of refuge to not a few of the hapless outcasts. All were generously assisted in their misery, by the illustrious Prince, Christopher Radzivil, by the Polish and Lithuanian churches, and also by some pious private individuals."

"In Hungary, God touched the heart of the illustrious George Rakotzy, afterwards Prince of Transylvania, so that he allowed his domains of Puchow and Lednitz, in the neighbourhood of Moravia, to serve as places of refuge for the Moravian exiles. Many from Bohemia also went to this part, as well as to the domains of the Counts Turzo and Illeshazy, and of the Lords Revay, Nadasdy, Niary, Wiskelet, &c."

The emigration to Poland was principally undertaken in 1628; but as early as 1548 about 1000 Bohemian Brethren had already removed to that country and to Prussia, particularly to Marienwerder. Many exiles from Silesia went also to

Poland, where the town of Lissa* was particularly distinguished as the place of refuge of the Bohemian Brethren, and as having a seminary of the higher classes for them and the Reformed Lutherans. In this town the celebrated bishop of the Brethren, the learned and much esteemed John Amos Comenius (properly Komensky†), had his sphere of labour.

This distinguished man was born, in 1592, at Komna, a place in Moravia, whence he derived his name. After having studied in several German universities, he took orders, and was appointed, in 1618, pastor of Fulnek, a town in his native land,

* It was here that the Episcopacy of the Polish branch of the ancient Unity of the Brethren, which had been allowed to expire, was renewed, in the year 1844, for the service and government of the remnant of its once numerous congregations, by the election to the Episcopal office of the Rev. Dr. Siedler, of Lissa, a respected minister of its communion, and his subsequent consecration at Herrnhut, on the 18th of June, by bishop P. F. Curie, with the assistance of bishops L. Reichel and J. M. Nitschman. By this solemn act, which took place, with the full concurrence and approval of the Prussian Government, the Elders of the Brethren's Unity were glad to have an opportunity of returning the obligation conferred on their own Church, a century ago, by the consecration of its first two bishops, David Nitschman and Count Zinzendorf, by Bishops Jablonsky and Stikovius, in 1735 and 1737. (See page 380.)—*Periodical Accounts for June, 1845.*

† His real name was Töpfer of Komna. On the Bishops of the Brethren in Poland, see Jablonsky (grandson of Comenius) in the Act. Hist. Eccles. vi. 442, &c. &c. Krasinsky, 300. The Bohemian manuscripts, which have been purchased from Lissa, and brought to Herrnhut, are, according to Palacky's opinion, extremely valuable. Would that access could be obtained to the papers which are still at Fulnek, and perhaps at Dresden.

and master of a school there. Having at an early period of his life conceived a design to introduce a new method of teaching languages; he published some essays for this purpose, and prepared other pieces on the same subject, which were destroyed in 1621, when the Spaniards plundered his library, after having taken the city. The outlawry of all the Protestant ministers of Bohemia and Moravia by the edict of 1624, compelled Comenius, with many others, to seek refuge in the mountains of Bohemia, and finally to retire to Poland. He settled at Lissa, where, having become professor of Latin, and pastor of the Bohemian church, he published, in 1631, his "*Janua Linguarum Reserata*," or "The Gate of Languages unlocked," which rapidly gained for its author a prodigious reputation. It was translated and published during his life-time, not only in twelve European languages, but also in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. He then translated into Latin a work concerning a new method of instructing youths, which he had written in Bohemia, and which was published in 1639 at London, under the title of "*Pansophiæ Prodromus*," of which an English translation, by Jer. Collier, was published in 1651, entitled "The Forerunner of Universal Learning." This increased his reputation so much, that the parliament of England invited him to assist in the reformation of the schools of that country. He arrived at London in September 1641, but the civil war which broke out in Great Britain prevented the parliament from making use of his talents in the projected reform. He therefore went to Sweden, whither he had been invited by Lewis de Geer, a person of great merit and influence. He

arrived there in August 1642, and had several conferences with the chancellor, Oxenstiern, at which it was determined that he should settle at Elbing, in Polish Prussia, and compose there a work on his new system of teaching. At the same time, a considerable stipend was settled upon him by Lewis de Geer, so that being delivered from the drudgery of teaching a school, he could devote his whole time for the invention of general methods of facilitating the instruction of youths. Having spent at Elbing four years in this study, he returned to Sweden to shew his composition, which was examined by three commissioners, and declared worthy of publication when complete.* He spent two years more at Elbing, and then returned to Lissa. In 1650 he made a journey to the court of Sigismund Ragoczy, prince of Transylvania, where his advice was desired for reforming schools. He gave this prince instructions for regulating the college of Saros-Patak, according to the maxims of the "*Pansophiæ Pro-dromus*." After a residence of four years he returned to Lissa, and superintended the schools untill the destruction of that city. He fled to Silesia, and having wandered in some parts of Germany, settled finally at Amsterdam, where he died in 1671, in the 80th year of his age.†

During the long period of suffering which lasted,

* This work was never published, having been burnt with all his other manuscripts, on the destruction of Lissa.

† Besides the works already mentioned, Comenius wrote "*Synopsis Physicæ ad lumen Divinum Reformatæ*," Amst. 1641, published in English, 1652. "*Porta sapientiæ Reserata, seu nova et Compendiosa Methodus omnes Artes ac scientias ad-discendi*," Oxon, 1637; and various others.—See Krasinski, vol. ii. p. 237. — Klinesmith's Divine Providence, p. 22, 23.

as we have seen, above one hundred years, it is calculated that more than 100,000 Bohemian Brethren and other Protestants escaped the spiritual tyranny of the Church of Rome.

A very just remark was made in 1528, by one of the bishops of the Bohemian Brethren, Lucas Pragensis, "That the ruin of the Unity was owing not to the persecution of their enemies, but to laxity of moral discipline among themselves. Our enemies," said he, "have not destroyed us, but we have destroyed ourselves." By degrees they had accommodated themselves to the world, and so departed from their former strength and purity. A warning example to other existing churches. So long as moral discipline was duly maintained among them, it was their unremitting care, that the members of the church should not only possess a theoretical knowledge of the doctrines of the Bible, but exhibit their practical influence in their lives. With this view they made several regulations, the principal of which were, that the head of every family was expected, not only to set his children and domestics a good example, but to use every means for promoting their spiritual welfare. He was required to send them regularly to church, to instruct them at home in the truths of the gospel, and to meet for family devotion three times a day. The frequenting theatres, and other places of amusement, that savoured of the world, were strictly prohibited. Not only open vices, but vanity and immodesty in dress, licentious discourse, and clandestine courtships, were severely censured. All dishonest trafficking and usury were forbidden; none were allowed to enter a lawsuit, without endeavouring to settle the subject of dispute by

brotherly arbitration. From the observance of these rules not even the nobility or the patrons were exempted. And the neglect of them eventually drew down upon the church those chastisements, by which, as we have seen, it was almost extinguished, and its members dispersed among other nations.

The above-named Bishop Comenius, in his "Address to the faithful remnant of Bohemian Brethren, in their dispersion," reminds them of their declension, when he says :—

"Your ancestors were a people which, filled with the fear of God, detested idolatry and superstition, and earnestly seeking salvation, devoted themselves entirely to the pursuit of heavenly things. And as they endeavoured as far as possible to keep their children ignorant of the vanities of the world, lest being allured by them, they should neglect to seek heavenly treasures; and to train their families to a Christian conduct of unaffected simplicity, moderation, and chastity, meekness, patience under injuries, and concord, that thus each and all might seek after whatsoever is true, whatsoever is honest, whatsoever is just, whatsoever is chaste, whatsoever is lovely and of good report. How disgraceful is it to deviate from such an example! And surely the divine chastisements which are now inflicted ought to teach you how painful it is that we have already deviated from it. For our deviation is proved by the very chastisement wherewith Christ is visiting us, because we have left our first love. It is too palpable to be denied. The tree of outward order appears indeed still to be standing; the name and certain external forms, which strike the eye, cover

it, as it were, with bark and leaves; but that the kernel within is for the most part dried up, and that it produces no fruit, or, at best, only sour grapes, cannot be denied by any who know what fruit the Lord expects from the vineyard of his Church. For where is now the holiness of life which distinguished our ancestors? Where is the respect, the willing obedience, which the younger formerly shewed to their superiors, and the congregations to their ministers, as unto Christ? Where shall we find the complete concord of the members of the congregation, which made the whole multitude appear as one mind—as one soul? Where is the apostolic hospitality shewn to strangers? Where is the meekness shewn even to enemies, which formerly distinguished us? Then no one desired to contend with others about articles of faith, but to live consistently with the profession of faith.

“Our pious forefathers left wars and fightings to those who took pleasure in them; for they deemed it better, according to the example of Christ, to bear, suffer, and love. Are there still many pastors and teachers among us, who, following the example of the Apostle Paul, served the Church without pay; who would rather labour day and night than be chargeable to any to whom they preach the Gospel? who, behaving themselves holily, justly, and unblameably, exhort, comfort, and charge every one as a father doth his children, that they may walk worthy of God?

“Have we still Bishops resembling those of the primitive times? Men zealous to win souls, and so successful, that in a short time, and amidst persecutions, they planted many flourishing congregations?

Or at least men who are possessed of the requisite solicitude, diligently to water the plantations committed to their care, and thus preserve them in a flourishing state? We preach Christ crucified, not like Paul and our ancestors, in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling; and, therefore, not in the demonstration of the spirit and of power; but with enticing words of man's wisdom, as taught in the schools of rhetoric.

“Are the patrons of our church, and our nobles, still instructed as formerly, to be the stewards of their property? Do all our nobles study to turn their mansions into little churches? are none of them ashamed, in the absence of a chaplain, to be priest in his own house, and to assemble his household to prayer, and by his own example to quicken them in this duty? Do they keep their houses free from parasites, and other vain persons, as our fathers did in their day, without respect of persons? No one was suffered to sin with impunity. But, alas! those holy times have passed away.”

Notwithstanding this declension, and its deplorable condition at that time, this good man was animated by the hope, that in the providence of God his expiring church would experience a revival.* He thus continues in almost a prophetic strain:—

“We cannot indeed understand the aim of God in permitting the cessation of our church, if He *should* permit it. But we know, that Samson did

* He published, in 1649, its History, which he dedicated to the Church of England, as his last will and testament, that by her it might be preserved for the use of the successors of the Brethren. This work has been translated from the Latin, and was published in London in 1661.

his enemies more harm by his death than he had done during his whole life, and that the Son of God himself died in order to destroy death, and that He reminds us, that every seed must die, ere it can shoot up and produce new and more extended life.

“ Let no one suppose then, that it is too late to think of recovery, when the patient lies dying ; that it is too late to attempt keeping the candlestick in its place, when it is already removed, thrown down, broken, and trampled under foot. For Omnipotence can restore the dead to life. Our Master can unite the broken potsherds, and cause new shoots to sprout from a branch withered and cut off. And who can say, that we *are* quite dead, that the vessel is broken, the tree entirely cut down ? Our church does indeed resemble a dying man, but she still draws breath ; she resembles a cracked vessel, but she is still, however, whole ; she resembles a tree, whose branches are lopped, and to whose root the axe is already applied, but she still stands firmly rooted in the ground, and the stem and branches, in part at least, have still sap and life. Why then should we despair ?

“ Let no one say, either : we have already lost our congregations ; what then have we to reform ? Must the beauty of our congregations depart, because they are lost ? This beauty may be restored either by the true model of church-discipline being publicly brought to light, or by the remnant of our congregations, be it ever so small, being truly reformed. Where but two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, there is a congregation having her Master in the midst of her. When Peter could collect no more than one hundred and

twenty persons, they constituted a church, having power to fill vacant offices. Acts i. 15. We are dispersed indeed ; but that is no reason, why our zeal for righteousness should be dispersed ; it should rather stimulate us all, to unite together the more closely, in order to confirm our faith, our charity, and our hope. And if even only *one* of us should be left, yet the word of faith loses nothing by this individual's being left solitary. Nay, godliness is even best promoted among few, because a large number is apt to cause disturbance, and the greater aggregate of evil propensities, to obstruct that which is good. Accordingly we frequently meet in Holy Writ with such expressions as these : " A remnant of them shall return." " A remnant shall be saved." Isaiah x. 22. Amos ix. 8. Zech. xiii. 8, 9. Romans ix. 27 : as if a return and reformation were not possible, till after the great herd had been separated from the remnant.

" Let no one say, either : we are in tribulation. For in affliction it is time to seek the Lord ; just then, when we feel His chastisements. Recollect also, that our church originated, grew up and flourished in persecution ; in the days of peace she faded and drooped. Being now again in affliction, she will rise again, or else it will be proved, that she is past awakening.

" Lose not your courage, beloved Brethren, however deep the misery into which we have fallen. We are not sunk so low, but that we may be raised again by the hand of Him, who killeth and maketh alive, who bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up.

“ If even our bodies were decaying, and our dry bones lying dispersed in the valley of this world, yet the Lord liveth, who can command the dry bones to come together, who can lay sinews upon them, and cover them with flesh and with skin; and who can order the four winds, saying : “ Come, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.” Ezek. xxxvii. 1, &c. That is : He can awaken worshippers in our stead, and from our ashes, who are illumined by the same light of truth, inflamed by the same fire of love, united by the same bonds of order and discipline; so that the foes, who vainly attempt to overthrow the throne of Christ in the congregation of believers, shall be still more put to shame, and the prosperity of His church still more promoted, than has been done by means of us.”

The ardent hopes of Comenius have been realized, as we have seen, in the renewal of the Brethren's church at Herrnhut in 1722, and its subsequent spread, not only among various nations of Christendom, but also among many heathen and barbarous tribes. Its members have been as a good salt in the earth, and proved a blessing to many, even where they have not established themselves as distinct Christian communities. This is especially the case at the present day on the continent of Europe, where the work of “ the Diaspora,” to which we have already alluded, is carried on with great quietness and success—infusing itself as a leaven, which, no doubt, will gradually leaven the whole lump—and to which, we have reason for believing, may be partly attributed the fermentation that is

now going on throughout Germany. No doubt the enemy of souls has sown tares among the wheat—the pure doctrines of the Gospel, taught by the simple-minded Brethren, have been mixed with “philosophy and vain deceit”—but the good work cannot altogether be neutralized; a simple form of Christianity, and a more lively faith, we trust, will be substituted for the debasing superstition and deadening materialism, which have united their interests, and now pervade that portion of Christendom.

The Brethren's church, compared with other denominations, is a small body—but she is animated by the Spirit of the living God. Other Protestant communities have been roused to activity in the Missionary field by her example—and look upon her with mingled feelings of admiration and respect; thus imposing upon her ministers and members additional obligations to remember their high vocation, and to watch against the intrusion of a worldly spirit. Their prosperity as a Church depends upon their simple faith and scriptural discipline—if they depart from the one or relax in the other, the days of persecution may again return to “try them as gold is tried.”

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